

Shall we, as the representatives of the sovereign people and of the sovereign States, who have it in their power to make a new world, attempt once more to turn the steps of men, so eagerly and anxiously waiting upon us, into the paths of a just and permanent peace? Let us attempt it by the adoption of this resolution establishing peace and providing for a concert of the nations.

RECESS.

Mr. SMOOT. I move that the Senate take a recess until Monday next at 11 o'clock a. m.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m., Saturday, May 29) the Senate took a recess until Monday, May 31, 1920, at 11 o'clock a. m.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, May 29, 1920.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Heavenly Father, our hearts go out in praise and gratitude to Thee for the gospel revealed in the life, character, and precepts of the Master, which is good news, glad tidings, to all people, since it reveals the heart of God, opens the door of the kingdom of heaven to all who would enter and enjoy its manifold blessings, inspiring greater faith, larger hope in the immortality of the soul, that we may press on to larger life and nobler achievements. After the manner of the Lord Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION, LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as House members of the United States Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission Mr. WALSH, Mr. MCARTHUR, Mr. DOREMUS, and Mr. WHALEY.

### POINT OF ORDER.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Two hundred and nineteen Members are present, a quorum.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the following titles:

H. R. 11398. An act for the creation of the Custer State Park Game Sanctuary in the State of South Dakota, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1827. An act for the relief of Carolyn Wheeler Kobbe;

H. R. 4927. An act for the relief of Nancy A. Parsons, C. M. Parsons, D. F. Staggs, Ollie Staggs, Roas Staggs, Lena Birchfield, Alice Birchfield, Bertie Gwin, Greely Gilbert, Linville Gilbert, and Nelson Gilbert;

H. R. 5807. An act for the relief of John T. Adams.

H. R. 9583. An act for the relief of Edward A. Purdy, postmaster of the city of Minneapolis, Minn., for postage stamps, postal-savings stamps, war-savings stamps, war-tax revenue stamps, and cash from money orders stolen from the branch post office at Minneapolis, Minn., commonly known and described as the traffic station, and located at Nos. 621 and 623 First Avenue north, in said city;

H. R. 3212. An act for the relief of legal representatives of George E. Payne, deceased;

H. R. 2396. An act for the relief of John A. Gauley;

H. R. 6198. An act authorizing payment of compensation to Swanhild Sims for personal injuries;

H. R. 9048. An act for the relief of Catherina Rea, administratrix of the estate of John Rea;

H. R. 9392. An act regulating the disposition of lands formerly embraced in the grants to the Oregon & California Railroad Co., and Coos Bay Wagon Road Co.;

H. R. 11030. An act for the relief of the Woodford Bank & Trust Co., of Versailles, Ky.;

H. R. 10317. An act for the relief of Blanche Utley; and

H. R. 10115. An act for the relief of Harvey R. Butcher.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 4373. An act to amend sections 207 and 210 of the transportation act of 1920;

S. 3969. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to waive the age limit for admission to the United States Naval Academy;

S. 4361. An act to provide for the relief of certain officers of the Naval Reserve Force, and for other purposes;

S. 3743. An act for the relief of W. R. Grace & Co.;

S. 2791. An act to provide for the leasing of public lands in Alaska for grazing purposes;

S. 4400. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to incorporate the Masonic Mutual Relief Association of the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1869, as amended;

S. 4436. An act to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act;

S. 4324. An act for the relief of William C. Brown;

S. 4326. An act for the relief of George F. Ramsey;

S. 4327. An act for the relief of H. B. Banks;

S. 4328. An act for the relief of Roach, Stansell, Lowrance Bros. & Co.;

S. 4250. An act for the relief of John B. Elliott;

S. 2929. An act for the relief of Capt. Edward T. Hartmann, United States Army;

S. 1255. An act authorizing the Texas Co. to bring suit against the United States;

S. 4310. An act to amend an act entitled "The New Mexico enabling act";

S. 4296. An act to confer upon the Territorial courts of the Territory of Hawaii jurisdiction concurrent with the United States courts of that district of all offenses under the act of October 28, 1919, known as the national prohibition enforcement act; and

S. 804. An act authorizing the Ponca Tribe of Indians residing in the States of Oklahoma and Nebraska to submit claims to the Court of Claims.

The message also announced that the Senate had receded from its amendment numbered 93 to the bill (H. R. 12272) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments the bill (H. R. 406) amending an act entitled "An act authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to sell to the city of Los Angeles, Calif., certain public lands in California, and granting rights in, over, and through the Sierra Forest Reserve, the Santa Barbara Forest Reserve, and the San Gabriel Timberland Reserve, Calif., to the city of Los Angeles, Calif.," approved June 30, 1906, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested.

### SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bills of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees as indicated below:

S. 2791. An act to provide for the leasing of public lands in Alaska for grazing purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 4326. An act for the relief of George F. Ramsey; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1255. An act authorizing the Texas Co. to bring suit against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 4310. An act to amend an act entitled "The New Mexico enabling act"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 4250. An act for the relief of John B. Elliott; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 4327. An act for the relief of H. B. Banks; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 4373. An act to amend sections 207 and 210 of transportation act, 1920; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 3969. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to waive the age limit for admission to the United States Naval Academy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 4361. An act to provide for the relief of certain officers of the Naval Reserve Force, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 804. An act authorizing the Ponca Tribe of Indians residing in the States of Oklahoma and Nebraska to submit claims to the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 4324. An act for the relief of William C. Brown; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 3743. An act for the relief of W. R. Grace & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 4328. An act for the relief of Roach, Stansell, Lowrance Bros. & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2929. An act for the relief of Capt. Edward T. Hartmann, United States Army; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 4436. An act to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 4400. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to incorporate the Masonic Mutual Relief Association of the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1869, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 4296. An act to confer upon the Territorial courts of the Territory of Hawaii jurisdiction concurrent with the United States courts of that district of all offenses under the act of October 28, 1919, known as the national prohibition enforcement act; to the Committee on the Territories.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. RAMSEY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that May 28 they had presented to the President of the United States for his approval the following bill:

H. R. 4438. An act to provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment.

#### SIX DAYS' SUSPENSION OF THE RULES.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I submit a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas submits a privileged report, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk reads as follows:

*Resolved*, That it shall be in order for six legislative days, beginning May 29, 1920, for the Speaker to entertain motions of Members of committees to suspend the rules under the provisions provided by the general rules of the House.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order on the rule.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. GARRETT. And pending that I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry. Will it require a two-thirds vote or a majority vote to pass this rule?

The SPEAKER. The Chair knows no reason why it should require more than a majority, but the Chair is ready to be enlightened.

Mr. GARRETT. The rules of the House provide that the Committee on Rules shall not report any rule or order which shall provide that business under paragraph 7 of Rule XXIV, which is Calendar Wednesday, shall be set aside by less than a two-thirds vote. The question is whether this rule fixing six legislative days as suspension days does not set aside Calendar Wednesday?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman make the point of order?

Mr. GARRETT. I made a parliamentary inquiry as to whether it would take two-thirds or a majority vote to pass it.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would rather have points of order made and pass upon them as they are made rather than volunteer a ruling.

Mr. GARRETT. Well, Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that it sets aside Calendar Wednesday. Of course, Mr. Speaker, the point of order—I do not exactly know why my parliamentary inquiry is not entitled to an answer without my making the point of order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state—the Chair does not mean to be discourteous, of course—that his offhand opinion would be that it would not require a two-thirds vote, but he is open to conviction.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. May I state for the information of the Chair and the gentleman from Tennessee what I have in mind with respect to this?

Mr. GARRETT. Certainly.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. It is contemplated that the House shall either recess or adjourn on Saturday, June 5.

Mr. GARNER. What are you going to do next Wednesday?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. This rule will give six legislative days for suspensions, eliminating next Wednesday.

Mr. GARRETT. Do I understand the gentleman to say that an adjournment resolution will be passed before Wednesday?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. No; not at all.

Mr. GARRETT. Then Wednesday will not be eliminated?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. But there will be six legislative days between now and Saturday besides Wednesday. There are seven legislative days between now and Saturday, and that would leave next Wednesday for the call of Calendar Wednesday.

Mr. GARNER. This rule does not say that.

Mr. WALSH. Does not the language of the rule mean six successive legislative days?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. It does not say so; that is a question to be determined next Wednesday when some chairman of a committee, on the call of Calendar Wednesday, rises and raises the question.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, after all, that is not the question, if the gentleman will yield.

Mr. GARRETT. I will yield.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Here is the rule:

The Committee on Rules shall not report any rule or order which shall provide that business under paragraph 7 of Rule XXIV shall be set aside by a vote of less than two-thirds of the Members present.

Now, here is an order forbidding the Committee on Rules reporting any rule which permits other business on Calendar Wednesday than Calendar Wednesday business unless it is set aside by a two-thirds vote; but when the Speaker is given the right on Calendar Wednesday to recognize for suspension of the rules he may take up the entire time recognizing for suspension of the rules, although not a single motion is even seconded by the Members of the House, and may never get to a vote in the House on any motion. It gives the right to the Speaker to dispense with the proceedings on Calendar Wednesday by recognizing Members to move to suspend the rules, and absolutely abrogates the rule. Here is a rule of the House forbidding the Committee on Rules to report any rule which sets aside Calendar Wednesday without a two-thirds vote. [Applause.] Of course, if the Committee on Rules can do that in this way they can do it in some other way. The rule does not except Calendar Wednesday. I suppose the Committee on Rules might have reported a rule making in order suspension for six legislative days except Calendar Wednesday, but they have not so reported. [Applause.] They had better take it back to the Committee on Rules and bring in a rule that is in consonance with the rules of the House.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, if the Chair will allow me just a moment.

This motion if adopted does not necessarily affect Calendar Wednesday business one way or the other. If adopted, it would become the duty of the Chair to determine on Calendar Wednesday whether or no the adoption of this order authorized dispensing with Calendar Wednesday business. If the order were adopted it would become the duty of the Chair on Wednesday, and not sooner, to determine whether or no the adoption of the rule authorized the recognition of anyone to suspend the rules on Wednesday.

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. If I may be allowed to finish just one sentence—

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes. I am perfectly willing for the gentleman to do that.

Mr. MONDELL. Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, if the Chair were to rule that the adoption of this resolution did authorize the recognition of anyone to suspend the rules on Calendar Wednesday, it would be the duty of the Chair to further determine whether or no that recognition could be for any other purpose than for a motion to suspend the rules for Calendar Wednesday business. So the Chair is not called upon at this time to determine whether the adoption of this motion affects the Calendar Wednesday rule. When he does come to pass upon the matter of Calendar Wednesday, if the question is raised, then it is for him to determine whether the rule applies to Wednesday; and if it applies to Wednesday, whether it applies only to Calendar Wednesday business.

May I further call the attention of the Chair to the fact that in any event the rules can not be suspended except by a two-thirds vote, and therefore if recognition was given on Wednesday to consider a measure that was not a Calendar Wednesday measure it would require a two-thirds vote. The vote which the rules provide must be had to set aside Calendar Wednesday business.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MONDELL. I first yield to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY].

Mr. BARKLEY. Suppose this rule should be adopted to-day by a bare majority vote, and on next Wednesday the Speaker should hold that this rule abrogated Calendar Wednesday, would that in effect be setting aside Calendar Wednesday without a two-thirds vote?

Mr. MONDELL. That is a matter to be determined on Calendar Wednesday and not now.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not believe that.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, the question as it appears to me must be determined by the Chair upon this proposition: Does this rule necessarily set aside Calendar Wednesday? I think no gentleman can claim that it does, because it does not neces-



sarily set aside Calendar Wednesday; neither does it necessarily set aside any privilege or rights of any committee that has under Calendar Wednesday certain privileges. There is nothing in this rule, even if it should be made applicable to Calendar Wednesday, that interferes in the slightest with the rights accruing under Calendar Wednesday.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly.

Mr. BLANTON. The particular rule reported says six legislative days, without excepting Calendar Wednesday.

Mr. TOWNER. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. The rule as cited by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] says that the Rules Committee shall not even report to the House a rule that seeks to set aside business on that day. If that is right, the Chair would have to take up at least part of Calendar Wednesday to decide the question on a point of order, and not even a part of Calendar Wednesday can be taken up as against the rule.

Mr. TOWNER. The gentleman assumes something that does not exist. There is nothing in the right that is given under the rule that sets it aside or in any way can be construed as a prior right to those that accrue under Calendar Wednesday; an additional right is not by any means a superior right.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TOWNER. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Assuming that we provide that each of the six last days of the session shall be set apart for suspension business, it does not follow that because we set them apart and permit motions to be made for suspension that therefore they must be used for that purpose, does it?

Mr. TOWNER. No. The gentleman is exactly correct. It is a privilege. It does not devote the time of the House at any date to that particular business. It is only a privilege that may be exercised.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TOWNER. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Now, both the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER] and the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] used the same identical language, that this rule does not "necessarily" do away with Calendar Wednesday. Does not that imply this peculiar coincidence, that in the minds of both gentlemen is the idea that it does set aside Calendar Wednesday?

Mr. TOWNER. Oh, no.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. What is the word "necessarily" for?

Mr. TOWNER. The word "necessarily" means an additional right or an additional privilege, and does not set aside the regular or granted privilege, which is not interfered with.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That comes to this, then, that in the mind of the gentleman from Iowa and in the mind of the gentleman from Wyoming the persuasive part of it is that it does set aside Calendar Wednesday?

Mr. MONDELL. If the gentleman from Iowa will allow me—

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly.

Mr. MONDELL. I have not considered that very carefully, but my thought is that it does not grant the Speaker the right to entertain a motion to suspend the rules on Calendar Wednesday except for Calendar Wednesday business, but I am not so sure about that.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The gentleman from Wyoming has a pretty good idea of the use of the English language. Does not the use of this word "necessarily" by both these distinguished statesmen mean that Calendar Wednesday may be set aside under this rule?

Mr. MONDELL. I used that language because it is not for me to determine but for the Speaker to determine when the time comes what the effect is on Calendar Wednesday.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That is just exactly what I object to.

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Iowa yield?

Mr. TOWNER. Yes; I yield.

Mr. REAVIS. The rule, as I heard it read, fixes only the procedure for six legislative days, but does not affect the legislation that will be considered under that procedure. Is there anything in the rule that will prevent Calendar Wednesday from being considered on Wednesday when the procedure alone is fixed by the rule?

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly not.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TOWNER. Just one moment. The procedure is not fixed by this rule. This rule only grants, as I tried to state unequivocally, an additional privilege. Now, if the additional privilege should be claimed on Calendar Wednesday to interfere with the business and duty and prior right of Calendar Wednesday, it certainly would not set aside, as the gentleman says, Calendar Wednesday or any other business.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Does not the rule permit a motion to suspend the rules on Calendar Wednesday?

Mr. TOWNER. I say no. It does not permit it. It allows a gentleman to ask for it, and it allows, if there is no interference with other business, the Speaker to grant it on Calendar Wednesday.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. It allows the Speaker to grant to a Member the right to make a motion.

Mr. TOWNER. It does.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. That is what I wanted to bring out.

Mr. TOWNER. The gentleman is assuming, I know, something that I do not agree to, and that is that the Speaker would have the right to allow any man to claim the right to make this motion even if it interfered with Calendar Wednesday.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. It does not matter if it interferes with Calendar Wednesday or not. If the gentleman will read the rules he will see that that is so.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TOWNER. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. In the opinion of the gentleman does paragraph 1 of Rule XXVII, which provides that it shall be in order to suspend the rules during the last six days of the session, itself set aside Calendar Wednesday?

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly not.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is all this rule does.

Mr. WALSH. This rule does set it aside.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It does?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; it does. Mr. Speaker, I desire to direct the attention of the Speaker to the further provision of this same rule:

Nor shall it report any rule or order which shall operate to prevent the motion to recommit being made, as provided in paragraph 4 of Rule XVI.

Now, I desire to ask—

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT. In order that I may make by own position clear, I did not make the point of order as to Calendar Wednesday but submitted a parliamentary inquiry upon this theory, that if the Chair should hold that it took a two-thirds vote—I mean that if the Chair should hold that this sets aside Calendar Wednesday—it would probably be in order if the rule should be passed by a two-thirds vote, so far as Calendar Wednesday is concerned. But after that parliamentary inquiry is disposed of I shall then insist upon the point of order, based upon the proposition that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] raised.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to be heard on the point of order raised by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman from Massachusetts makes a point of order to the effect that—

Mr. WALSH. I did not make a point of order.

Mr. MADDEN. I thought the gentleman did.

Mr. WALSH. I directed the Chair's attention to that language.

The SPEAKER. Is no point of order pending? Does the gentleman make a point of order?

Mr. GARRETT. I will do so. I feel, Mr. Speaker, that I have not made myself clear. The reason why I made a parliamentary inquiry was this—

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, if there is no point of order pending, I call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I am of the opinion that the Committee on Rules can bring in a rule which will permit the setting aside of Calendar Wednesday by a two-thirds vote. Therefore, if this rule should be adopted by a two-thirds vote, so far as the Calendar Wednesday part of it is concerned, I do not think a point of order would lie. Therefore I did not make the point of order on that, but made a parliamentary inquiry, so that we would know how many votes it is going to take;

but I intended, and do intend, if the parliamentary inquiry is answered, that it does take a two-thirds vote to make a point of order upon the proposition raised by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. MANN of Illinois. I understood, when the resolution was reported, that the gentleman did reserve a point of order, and then submitted a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GARRETT. That is correct.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. I make the point of order that the Committee on Rules is not authorized to report this rule, regardless of the number of votes it may take to pass it. The Chair can pass upon both questions if he so desires. I read a moment ago to the Chair a rule which the Chair was already familiar with, forbidding the Committee on Rules to report a rule which sets aside Calendar Wednesday. Now, this rule as reported makes the next six days, including to-day, suspension days.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Oh, no. Will the gentleman from Illinois observe that it makes it in order for the Speaker to recognize for six legislative days? It does not say for "the next six legislative days."

Mr. MANN of Illinois. It means the next six legislative days. Do not quibble about a thing of that sort.

Mr. FREAR. A quibble does not apply. You are quibbling.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. You sit down!

Mr. FREAR. You are quibbling.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. It does not mean next December, and it does not mean next January. How odd it would be to say that "for the next six legislative days"! It is for the Speaker to determine which six legislative days, and not the House.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That is true.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Illinois complete.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. It makes the next six legislative days, beginning to-day, suspension days. That is what the rule does. It authorizes a motion to suspend the rules on next Wednesday. Now, the rule not only forbids the Committee on Rules to report such a rule—that is, Rule XI—but Rule XXIV provides, in reference to Calendar Wednesday, that on Wednesday of each week no business shall be in order except as provided by paragraph 4 of this rule unless the House, by a two-thirds vote on motion to dispense therewith, shall otherwise determine.

The Speaker recalls the long fight that there was in reference to inaugurating Calendar Wednesday, the right of the House to set aside one day of the week beyond the control of the Committee on Rules, when the committees of the House should have the right to call up bills reported from those committees, whether the Speaker or the Rules Committee wanted them to come up or not, unless the House by a two-thirds vote should set it aside. They provided twice in the rules that no other business should be in order, nothing else should be in order, except Calendar Wednesday business. And then in addition to that, fearing that that rule might be set aside by a report from the Committee on Rules, they expressly provided that the Committee on Rules could not report a rule setting aside the provisions in Rule XXIV about Calendar Wednesday. That is exactly what this rule does. It does not make a particle of difference whether the Speaker on Wednesday intends to recognize anybody to move to suspend the rules or not, this gives him the authority to do it. The Committee on Rules has no authority to report such a rule. [Applause.]

Mr. MAPES rose.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Michigan rise to oppose the point of order.

Mr. MAPES. I do.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is ready to rule.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Wyoming rise to oppose the point of order?

Mr. MONDELL. I do.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is ready to rule.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to direct the attention of the Chair to the other clause which provides that the committee shall not report any rule or order which will operate to prevent the motion to recommit as provided in paragraph 4 of Rule XVI.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, the general rules of the House for a long while have provided for suspension days, the first and third Mondays and the last six days of the session. That existed in the rules before this provision was ever put there. Let me repeat the language:

Nor shall it report any rule or order which shall operate to prevent a motion to recommit.

A "rule or order." What is this? It is one or the other. It is an order of business for six legislative days. It cuts off

absolutely, it does operate undeniably to prevent a motion to recommit.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Does not the gentleman from Tennessee recognize the distinction between a rule or order brought in by the Committee on Rules on a specific bill, or a concurrent or joint resolution or a conference report, that would deny a motion to recommit, and a rule or resolution amending the rules and providing for suspension of the rules for six calendar days?

Mr. GARRETT. I fear the gentleman from Kansas does not get my point of order. The point of order is that this is not a privileged rule. It can not be presented as a privileged rule. Of course, the Committee on Rules can report a resolution amending the general rules of the House and let it go to the calendar and come up in the regular order. But a rule which operates to prevent a motion to recommit, as this rule does, is not a privileged rule. It must take its place on the calendar and can not be presented from the floor as a privileged rule.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is ready to rule. The Chair naturally knew that this question would be raised and has been considering it and will not deny that it has caused him a good deal of perplexity. But the Chair has in his own mind come to a conclusion which is clear, though, of course, he may not make it so to others.

The Chair, in the first place, thinks that this rule making in order for six legislative days motions to suspend the rules does include Calendar Wednesday; that by ordinary construction it means six consecutive days; and that the Chair would have the right to entertain a motion to suspend the rules on Calendar Wednesday. The clause which creates the trouble is that "the Committee on Rules shall not report any rule or order which shall provide that business under paragraph 7 of Rule XXIV shall be set aside by a vote of less than two-thirds of the Members present; nor shall it report any rule or order which shall operate to prevent the motion to recommit being made."

It seems to the Chair that the same argument applies to both. They stand together. It seems to the Chair that this clause means that the Committee on Rules shall not bring in a rule which is aimed strictly at overthrowing either of these privileged matters. But it does not mean that the committee shall not report any resolution which may have that ultimate result. The Committee on Rules, for instance, could bring in a report repealing all the rules of the House; that would dispense with Calendar Wednesday, but that would be in order. It could bring in a rule repealing a part of the rules, including the Calendar Wednesday rule, which would, of course, produce that effect. It seems to the Chair that the Committee on Rules is not permitted to do anything which directly dispenses with Calendar Wednesday or the motion to recommit, but it can bring in a general rule, like the present one, which indirectly produces that result as a minor part of its operation.

Of course, this resolution is brought in, as we all know, on the anticipation that the House will adjourn next Saturday. If a resolution to adjourn should be brought in by the Committee on Rules and passed by the two Houses, that makes the suspension in order for the next six days; that would dispose of Calendar Wednesday and the motion to recommit. Would anyone contend that on that account it was out of order? The Chair thinks that this motion is not so directly aimed at the rule which provides for Calendar Wednesday and the motion to recommit as to make it out of order.

The argument is made that this report from the Committee on Rules is not privileged. The subject matter seems to be strictly within the language of the rule which gives the Committee on Rules jurisdiction over "rules, joint rules, and order of business," and the reports of that committee on the subjects over which they have jurisdiction are privileged under the general rule, and in addition there is a special-section stating that "it shall always be in order to call up for consideration a report from the Committee on Rules."

The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Does the gentleman from Tennessee desire to make any arrangement—

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I move to lay the appeal on the table.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee appeals from the decision of the Chair, and the gentleman from Wyoming moves to lay that appeal on the table.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.



The question was taken; and there were—yeas 192, nays 189, answered "present" 2, not voting 44, as follows:

## YEAS—192.

Anderson	Focht	Layton	Robison, Ky.
Andrews, Md.	Fordney	Little	Rosenberg
Andrews, Nebr.	Foster	Longworth	Rose
Anthony	Frear	Luhning	Rubey
Ashbrook	French	McArthur	Sanders, Ind.
Bakka	Fuller, Ill.	McCulloch	Sanders, N. Y.
Bacharach	Gallivan	McFadden	Schall
Baer	Garland	McKenzie	Scott
Barbour	Goodykoontz	McKinley	Sells
Begg	Graham, Ill.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Siegel
Benham	Green, Iowa	McLaughlin, Nebr.	Sinclair
Bland, Ind.	Greene, Mass.	MacCrate	Sinnott
Boles	Griest	MacGregor	Slemp
Bowers	Hadley	Madden	Smith, Idaho
Britten	Hamill	Maher	Smith, Ill.
Brooks, Ill.	Hamilton	Mapes	Smith, Mich.
Brooks, Pa.	Hardy, Colo.	Mead	Steenerson
Browne	Harrel	Michener	Stephens, Ohio
Burdick	Haugen	Miller	Stiness
Burke	Hawley	Monahan, Wis.	Strong, Kans.
Butler	Hays	Mondell	Strong, Pa.
Campbell, Kans.	Hersey	Mooney	Summers, Wash.
Carrs	Hickey	Moore, Ohio	Sweet
Chindblom	Hill	Morgan	Swope
Christopherson	Hoch	Mott	Tague
Classon	Hull, Iowa	Mudd	Taylor, Tenn.
Cooper	Hutchinson	Murphy	Temple
Copley	Ireland	Nelson, Wis.	Thomas
Crago	James	Newton, Minn.	Thompson
Cramton	Jeffers	Newton, Mo.	Timberlake
Crowther	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nolan	Tincher
Currie, Mich.	Johnson, Wash.	O'Connor	Townner
Darrow	Jones, Pa.	Ogden	Vale
Davis, Minn.	Juul	Olney	Vare
Denison	Kearns	Osborne	Vestal
Dickinson, Iowa	Keller	Parnell	Voigt
Dowell	Kelley, Mich.	Quinn	Volstead
Dunbar	Kelly, Pa.	Radcliffe	Walters
Dunn	Kennedy, R. I.	Ramseyer	Watson
Dyer	Kless	Randall, Calif.	Webster
Echols	King	Randall, Wis.	Wheeler
Elliott	Kinkaid	Reavis	White, Kans.
Emerson	Kieczka	Reber	White, Me.
Esc.	Knutson	Reed, N. Y.	Williams
Evans, Mont.	Kraus	Reed, W. Va.	Wilson, Ill.
Evans, Nebr.	Kreider	Ricketts	Woodyard
Fairfield	Lampert	Riddick	Yates
Fess	Langley		Zihlman

## NAYS—189.

Ackerman	Dupré	Lehlbach	Riordan
Almon	Eagan	Leshner	Robinson, N. C.
Aswell	Eagle	Linthicum	Rogers
Ayres	Ferris	Lomergan	Romjue
Bankhead	Fields	Luce	Rouse
Barkley	Fisher	Lufkin	Rowe
Bee	Flood	McAndrews	Sabath
Bell	Freeman	McClintic	Sanders, La.
Benson	Fuller, Mass.	McDuffie	Sanford
Black	Gallagher	McGlennon	Sherwood
Blackmon	Gandy	McKeown	Sims
Bland, Mo.	Ganly	McKiniry	Sisson
Bland, Va.	Gard	McLane	Smith, N. Y.
Blanton	Garner	Magee	Steagall
Box	Garrett	Major	Stedman
Brand	Glynn	Mann, S. C.	Steele
Briggs	Godwin, N. C.	Martin	Stephens, Miss.
Brumbaugh	Goldfogle	Mays	Stevenson
Buchanan	Good	Merritt	Stoll
Burroughs	Goodwin, Ark.	Milligan	Summers, Tex.
Byrnes, S. C.	Greene, Vt.	Minahan, N. J.	Taylor, Ark.
Byrns, Tenn.	Griffin	Montague	Taylor, Colo.
Caldwell	Hardy, Tex.	Moon	Tilson
Campbell, Pa.	Harrison	Moore, Va.	Tinkham
Candler	Heflin	Moore, Ind.	Treadway
Cannon	Hersman	Neely	Upshaw
Caraway	Hicks	Nelson, Mo.	Venable
Carew	Hoe	Nicholls	Vinson
Casey	Holland	O'Connell	Walsh
Clark, Mo.	Howard	Oldfield	Ward
Coady	Huddleston	Oliver	Wason
Collier	Hudspeth	Overstreet	Watkins
Connally	Hull, Tenn.	Padgett	Weaver
Crisp	Humphreys	Palge	Welting
Cullen	Husted	Park	Welty
Dallinger	Igoe	Parker	Whaley
Davey	Jacoway	Parrish	Wilson, La.
Davis, Tenn.	Johnson, Ky.	Pell	Wilson, Pa.
Dempsey	Johnson, Miss.	Peters	Wingo
Dent	Johnson, N. Y.	Phelan	Winslow
Dewalt	Jones, Tex.	Platt	Wise
Dickinson, Mo.	Kahn	Pou	Wood, Ind.
Dominick	Kincheloe	Rainey, Ala.	Woods, Va.
Donovan	Lanham	Rainey, H. T.	Wright
Doelling	Larsen	Rainey, J. W.	Young, Tex.
Doremus	Lazaro	Raker	
Doughton	Lea, Calif.	Ramsey	
Drewry	Lee, Ga.	Rayburn	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2.  
Mann, Ill. Snell

## NOT VOTING—44.

Booher	Cole	Ellsworth	Hastings
Brinson	Costello	Elston	Hayden
Cantrill	Curry, Calif.	Evans, Nev.	Hernandez
Carter	Dale	Goodall	Houghton
Clark, Fla.	Drane	Gould	Hulings
Cleary	Edmonds	Graham, Pa.	Kendall

Kennedy, Iowa	Mansfield	Rucker	Smithwick
Kettner	Mason	Scully	Snyder
Kitchen	Porter	Sears	Sullivan
Lankford	Rhodes	Shreve	Tillman
McPherson	Rowan	Small	Young, N. Dak.

So the appeal was laid on the table.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. RHODES with Mr. TILLMAN.

Mr. SNYDER with Mr. CARTER.

Mr. COLE with Mr. HAYDEN.

Mr. HERNANDEZ with Mr. HASTINGS.

Mr. ELSTON with Mr. DRANE.

Mr. DALE with Mr. EVANS of Nevada.

Mr. MCPHERSON with Mr. KITCHIN.

Mr. COSTELLO with Mr. BOOHER.

Mr. CURRY of California with Mr. BRINSON.

Mr. HOUGHTON with Mr. SCULLY.

Mr. KENDALL with Mr. LANKFORD.

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania with Mr. SMALL.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota with Mr. SEARS.

Mr. HULINGS with Mr. MANSFIELD.

Mr. EDMONDS with Mr. RUCKER.

Mr. MASON with Mr. SMITHWICK.

Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa with Mr. CLEARY.

Mr. GOODALL with Mr. ROWAN.

Mr. PORTER with Mr. CLARK of Florida.

Mr. ELLSWORTH with Mr. CANTRILL.

Mr. GOULD with Mr. SULLIVAN.

Mr. SHREVE with Mr. KETTNER.

Several Members asked how they were recorded.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, there is no rule for a third roll call in this House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is correct. On this vote the yeas are 192 and the nays 189. The result is so close that the Chair thinks there ought to be a recapitulation. The Chair will ask the Clerk to recapitulate the vote.

The Clerk proceeded to recapitulate the vote.

Mr. GARD (when his name was called). Mr. Speaker, after voting on the second call I remembered that the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. GRAHAM, who is detained at his home on account of illness, yesterday asked me to preserve a special pair with him on the rule to be proposed, and I desire to preserve such a pair, if I may, by withdrawing my vote of no and casting my vote as present on this motion if it be thought to be contained in my agreement to pair on the rule vote.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks it is too late.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, that would be disposed of after the recapitulation.

The Clerk concluded the recapitulation of the vote.

The SPEAKER. The recapitulation shows no change.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, did the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. COSTELLO, vote?

The SPEAKER. He is not recorded.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, the arrangement I had with the gentleman from Pennsylvania I do not think contemplated the roll call which has just been had.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that it would be too late to change the vote in any event.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Oh, no, Mr. Speaker, it is not too late to make a change of a vote. Let me call the attention of the Chair—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman does not desire to change it now.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. If the Speaker will consult the Manual, I think he will find that it is not too late.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] is recognized.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman from Tennessee desire to make any arrangement in regard to time for debate on the adoption of the rule?

Mr. GARRETT. I suppose it would be well to do so. What does the gentleman suggest?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of time has been consumed already this morning, and if the previous question were ordered there would be 20 minutes of debate on a side. I suggest 20 minutes on a side now.

Mr. GARRETT. Would not the gentleman make it 30 minutes on a side? Then, so far as I am concerned, he may make the request for the previous question and I shall not object.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that there be 30 minutes of debate on a side on the adoption of the rule, one-half to be controlled by myself and

one-half by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT], and that the previous question be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent that there be 30 minutes of debate on a side, one half to be controlled by himself and the other half by the gentleman from Tennessee, and that at the end of that time the previous question shall be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to know whether gentlemen desire an adjournment of Congress at the end of next week.

Mr. PADGETT. Speaking for myself, I say no.

Mr. MONDELL. A great majority of the Members do. The question now before us is important in that it has to do primarily with the question of disposing of the business of Congress within the next week, or at least disposing of it as far as it is possible to do so. At least gentlemen desire to go to the national conventions, and if the business of the Congress is not well out of the way gentlemen may not have that opportunity. Had we adopted a resolution relative to adjournment, then the adoption of that resolution, under the rules, would have given us six days during which the Speaker would be authorized to recognize Members to move to suspend the rules. Such a resolution not having been adopted, the only certain way to close up the business of this Congress, pass appropriation bills, dispose of the program, and get away the latter part of next week is by the adoption of the resolution now before us. If it fails I do not see how gentlemen can hope that important measures now on the calendar, in various stages of legislative procedure, can be disposed of to-day and next week.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. I yield.

Mr. SABATH. If the rule is adopted, then will it not be necessary that each and every bill that is called up be passed by a two-thirds vote of the Members present?

Mr. MONDELL. That is a very simple question, for it answers itself. If a measure is brought up under suspension of the rules, of course it requires a two-thirds vote to pass that measure. It does not follow, however, that all of the measures before the House will be considered under suspension of the rules. It does make possible a suspension of the rules to secure prompt action on legislation, with 40 minutes of debate. Unless we have a provision of this kind, which is quite usual in the closing days of a session of Congress, I do not see how it will be possible to dispose of the business now before us that ought to be disposed of, that must be disposed of, before we can adjourn, and that should be disposed of before we recess.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Is not the very object of this rule to accomplish what has been for years the rule of the House, that the last six days shall be devoted to the dispatch of public business, and failing the passage of an adjournment resolution is not this absolutely necessary?

Mr. MONDELL. Absolutely necessary, ordinary, and usual. Gentlemen will remember that we are hoping to dispose of the business of the session much earlier than we have done for several years past; it therefore becomes more than ordinarily important we have suspension days.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. It is the sort of rule that in the absence of a definite date for the adjournment of Congress is well-nigh essential for the closing of the business of the session promptly and in good condition this early in the season. If we had voted July 1, the end of the fiscal year, to conclude our business, it would not be so important.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. May I have one minute more?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. My time is all gone.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That is a nice working machine.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the admission which has been made by the majority leader upon this floor is one of the most remarkable which I have ever heard come from any person in a place of responsibility such as his in this House during a term of service of some 16 years. Is it possible that gentlemen upon the Republican side of the House are ready to admit that they can not do business except by suspending the rules, in addition to the regular suspension days

under the general rules of the House? When this Congress met more than a year ago you had a majority of more than 40. You organized this body; you elected the committees. From that time forward the responsibility has been yours, and now, within six days of what you say is to be an adjournment, you come before the country and declare that you can not legislate under the general rules of the House, or under a special rule, but that you have got to suspend all rules.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, has the gentleman ever been a Member of any Congress, Democratic or Republican, that did not operate for the last six days under suspension of the rules?

Mr. GARRETT. Why, certainly. I think this is a most unusual—

Mr. LONGWORTH. When?

Mr. GARRETT. The last six days of a short session of a Congress are always suspension days, of course, but never have we in the midst of a session, without the adjournment day being fixed, passed any such resolution as this, never within my memory or in my experience here. [Applause on the Democratic side.] If the gentlemen who are responsible, this invisible body, the steering committee, who are responsible for the conduct of the business in this House, want suspension days in the regular way under the general rules of the House, let them bring in their resolution of adjournment, fixing the day, present it here and now, if you want to take the responsibility of adjourning, and then the question will be settled, and when you have this proposition up under the general rules of the House all men will know what to depend upon. Never, I repeat, never in the history of the Congress during my term of service has there been a resolution passed providing for setting aside six days for suspensions, except after the adjournment date had been fixed; and, in fact, it was not then necessary to pass a special resolution. There is another thought that I want to leave with the membership for a moment. The reasons given by the gentleman from Wyoming are not the reasons which have been current throughout this House and throughout this town for the bringing in of this extraordinary rule. The gentleman from Wyoming very adroitly avoided reference to that with which the thought of this House has been saturated and upon which appeals have been predicated to the minority side of the House to disregard all their own precedents and practices and aid and abet in the incompetency which the majority is willing to display to the country. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Of course, the passage of this rule opens up the floodgates, and instead of hastening adjournment, it is more calculated to defer adjournment. But there is a bill to which the gentleman did not refer, but which has been referred to in private and in public, and was referred to by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] the other day, and that is the so-called bonus bill, or adjusted-pay bill.

Let me repeat again: There is now in the pocket of the gentleman from Kansas a rule providing for the consideration of that bill which he is welcome to call up at any moment. There are some of us who have some objections to the rule and will undertake to amend it, but I am informed, and I did not receive it in confidence—I do not know whether it is accurate, but I believe it to be so—that there was an agreement entered into on yesterday between gentlemen on the Republican side of the House that if this rule providing for six days of suspension were defeated, that rule which the gentleman has had in his pocket for days would be called up, and I would like to know before the conclusion of this discussion whether that is the fact. The gentleman from Kansas can probably inform the House on that.

Mr. CALDWELL. Ask him now.

Mr. GARRETT. And if he will take the House into his confidence upon that we will know better, all of us over here, whether or not we want to vote to support such a radical, unprecedented measure as this suspension rule, which will cut off all amendment or possibility of amendment and practically cause the House to abdicate its constitutional function of originating revenue measures. I will yield to the gentleman from Kansas now in my time if he cares to answer at this time. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I shall be governed by the votes that are cast on this resolution by what I do in the future.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. QUIN].

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Speaker, it appears to me upon the performance of gentlemen on both sides of this House for the last 10 days that a smooth endeavor has been in operation to leger-



demean the bonus bill off the calendar. [Applause.] Under their work the only way that this legislation can be considered is by the adoption of this rule. No one knows it better than the leaders on both sides of this Chamber who are pulling off this performance to-day. [Applause.] I am going to support this rule, although it has many obnoxious things in it. I am going to support this rule in order to give every man on this floor a chance to vote either for or against the bonus bill. [Applause.] I wanted to get this money out of war profits. This bonus bill does not meet with my approval in its form, but I am for it rather than no compensation bill [applause], and the attempt is to keep down any type of compensation for the soldiers in the late war. [Applause.] The only way that the Members of this House are going to get an opportunity to express their votes in the Record is to vote this rule through. [Applause.] We know that, and I am going to put myself on record by voting for this rule. Every man who is against the bonus is going to vote against this rule. [Applause.] Some men who are for the bonus will vote against the rule, but every single one on both sides of the Chamber who are opposed to the bonus bill, or opposed to compensation to the soldiers, will vote against this rule. I am for the bonus for the ex-service men, and I am bound to vote for this rule in order to get a chance to vote for the bonus. [Applause.]

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman used nine minutes.

Mr. GARRETT. Will the gentleman from Kansas use some time?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman from Tennessee go ahead?

Mr. GARRETT. I will yield five minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Wood].

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. QUIN], who has just preceded me, has said that everyone who votes against this rule is opposed to the bonus bill. The gentleman certainly did not measure his words. There are a great many people here who would like to vote for the right kind of a bonus bill. [Applause.] There are a number of people who will vote for this rule out of fear that they will not have an opportunity to vote for the right kind of a bonus bill. I am going to vote against this rule for the reason that if it is adopted it is the intention of gentlemen who have charge of the so-called bonus bill that no occasion shall be had to make it what it should be—a bonus bill in fact. [Applause.] There is no disguising the fact that there is implanted in this so-called bonus bill the Lane-Mondell reclamation scheme, which has not 50 friends in this House if permitted to stand alone. Take and adopt a rule here giving us an opportunity to amend this bill. [Applause.] Take and give us a chance so that we may give the soldiers of this country what they want and not what they have been compelled to accept. I have before me—

Mr. COOPER rose.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I can not yield—I have before me here now, which every gentleman here no doubt has received, a letter from ex-service men saying that they are not in favor of this Lane-Mondell reclamation scheme and that a rule should be adopted giving a chance to eliminate it. If you give the friends of the soldiers here a chance to perfect a soldiers' bonus bill that will be acceptable to them, you will have no trouble in passing it. Every letter that you are receiving advocating the enactment of this law refers to four alternative plans. Is that true?

Mr. BLAND of Indiana rose.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. There is not one of them that has taken into consideration the fifth alternative plan or the reclamation scheme proposed by the Mondell plan that is injected into the body of this bill, and the eyes of the people of the country are not closed to the fact as to what it means in the way of expenditure. I took occasion some time ago, on the 5th of May, if I recall rightly, to put in the Record what this means in a money sense. It does not mean the mere expenditure of \$250,000,000. That is just simply the nose of the camel getting under the tent. It means an expenditure out of the Public Treasury of this country, if it means one dollar, of more than \$12,000,000,000. That is what it means.

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. No; I will not yield.

If you will examine the testimony submitted by the Secretary of Agriculture that is set out in the Record of the 5th day of May, you will find that it means an expenditure of twice more now than would have been required in prewar days, and then it would have amounted, if you please, to more than \$6,000,000,000. So I say that this most extraordinary rule should not be

adopted. There is no pretense that it would have been brought in here at all but for the fact that it was by this means that they are attempting to foist on the country, not a soldiers' readjustment bill, or an adjustment-pay bill, but, if you please, primarily the purpose of those who are responsible for the situation we are in here to-day, is to foist upon the country this reclamation scheme that they know they can not foist upon it in any other way.

A MEMBER. Are you in favor of the bill?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. If you take out that reclamation scheme and amend some of the tax provisions that should be amended I will vote for it without hesitancy. There are but few here that can concede conscientiously that the Mondell plan should have any place in this measure. It has been discarded in this House for the last seven years, and this Congress time and time again, and it would have no chance to pass if it was depending on its own virtue.

We have in the sundry civil bill, which we passed the other day, 25 of these reclamation projects by which the Public Treasury is now being milked at the rate of nearly \$9,000,000 to pay current expenses. If this is such a good thing, and this reclamation is so advisable, why not incorporate it in the reclamation law we have now? Because there is nothing to recommend it and it must of necessity find some subterfuge in order to have character given to it, and this is the means whereby they are attempting to use the soldier boys of this country and bills introduced for their benefit as the means to foist that on the country, which is a fraud in itself, a fraud on the soldier boys, and a drain upon the Public Treasury that is not justified now or at any other time. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS].

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, I deny that this is a partisan question in any sense of the word or that the Democratic Party is lined up against this American Legion bill. I believe that nine-tenths, if not more, of the Democratic side will vote for this bill. They are for it and I am for it, and I am in favor of it and in favor of getting it up, and getting it up now. I am not in favor of any subterfuge or of leaning on any slender technical proposition that will keep it from getting up. [Applause.] I deny that if you vote for this rule or this bill it requires any Member to say he approves of everything in it. I do not myself approve of all of its provisions. I would like to have some things in it that are not in it now, but I content myself with the fact that I will vote for the best proposition for the soldier we can get, and this is the best proposition we can get. I go further. I do not only say it is the best proposition we can get, but the only proposition we can get. It is known here, and known very well, that this Congress is going to adjourn in the immediate future. What other chance will any Member have to support any kind of soldier bill? This is the last chance—it is the only chance.

Mr. GARRETT. Will the gentleman yield? I will yield to the gentleman a minute of my time.

Mr. FERRIS. I gladly yield to my friend from Tennessee.

Mr. GARRETT. If this rule is voted down, the gentleman from Kansas, I charge, will immediately bring up the rule to consider the bonus bill.

Mr. FERRIS. If that is true, that is a difference in form only. The same bill will be brought up if we defeat this and if the other rule is voted up. I maintain it is in substance what the soldier wants, and that he is not concerned about form. I add that 4,800,000 service men are not interested in the form. They are interested in results. [Applause.] I sat in judgment on this soldier relief bill myself four or five months during hearings in the last Congress. I tried as best I could then, with those associated with me, to get this bill up. It was defeated then by men who were opposed to any relief at all. And the men who are opposed to any soldier bill at all are trying to defeat it to-day. [Applause.]

I do not like to vote for harsh rules to get this up. I wish we could have it in here open for amendment. I would be glad if you could do that. But you can not do it, and there are some pretty good reasons for not allowing it. To bring a bill in this late in the session and allow every conceivable scheme to be offered on it would again mean no bill. I want a bill. I want the best bill I can get. This is the only bill that we have. It will do some good. We can amend it later and do more good. It has been delayed too long now. It is time to act.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARRETT. Has the gentleman used the minute I yielded to him?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has not.

Mr. GARRETT. I yielded one minute to the gentleman.

Mr. FERRIS. My duty, Mr. Speaker, as I understand it, is clear. This is not a partisan question. If this bill is not what it should be, the Republican side, with 44 majority, brought it in here. It is little enough for a Democrat to decide whether he will do the best thing he can for the soldier or do nothing for the soldier. If this rule is defeated the soldier gets nothing; if the second rule is defeated, the soldier gets nothing. If the soldier gets nothing, each Member will answer to himself and to his constituency for the defeat of this bill. As I understand my duty, it is to pass this bill. I am for the bill. I am going to help get it up. I am going to help get it through. I am going to help get it through, not my way, but get it through.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I object. I will object to all extensions.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

Mr. GARRETT. Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] desire five minutes?

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN].

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it has not been the practice of Congress to pass a resolution of this character at the long session. It has not been the practice to provide for suspensions being in order in the closing days of the long session. It has not only not been the practice but it never has been done, with one exception, and that was when the Democrats were filibustering in a former Congress, and when we made suspensions in order by a majority vote.

Here is the situation: Congress has been in almost continuous session for more than a year. The Republican side of the House has had a reasonably large majority. If we say to the country, as we will if this resolution be passed, that the Republican majority in this House, with a year's time, has been unable to bring in legislation and perfect it where it is subject to amendment, it acknowledges its impotency and its incapacity. [Applause.] It will be called to your attention and to your constituents on every stump that the Republican majority of the House has not enacted much reconstructive legislation, and then it will be told in addition that the Republican majority of the House was afraid to enact legislation under the ordinary rules and was incapacitated from following the ordinary practice. What will you answer when men say to you that a Republican majority in the House passes a revenue bill raising a billion and a quarter of dollars without a chance to amend it? No party in the history of the country has ever passed a revenue bill under suspension of the rules.

No party in the history of the country has ever proposed to pass a revenue bill without the right to amend it—a bill that takes a billion and a quarter of dollars out of the pockets of the people. You can not defend it by saying that it was to pay a bonus to the soldiers, because that is separate and apart from the principle—the vital principle of legislative liberty—that the Representatives of the people shall have the right to consider and amend propositions to put taxes upon them. [Applause.]

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. Is the gentleman against the bonus bill?

Mr. MANN of Illinois. I am against this outrageous, disgraceful, iniquitous bonus bill which carries this outrageous tax. The gentleman is in favor of any law that takes taxes out of one pocket and puts them into another pocket. I am in favor of all reasonable legislation. I do not oppose giving a preference or bonus to the soldiers, but I shall never consent freely to pass bills providing for the raising of revenue where the gag rule is applied. [Applause.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, how does the time stand?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas has 20 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] has 10 minutes remaining.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Dakota is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, it is always a pleasure to any of us on either side of the House to listen to

the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], who spoke so feelingly and, from his standpoint, so truthfully; but it was a surprise to me to hear him indict the steering committee of his own creation, which I was opposing some months ago. I think, perhaps, his criticism of them is unjustified, because I believe that they have recognized what the majority of this side of this House desires, and that is that the House finally be given an opportunity to vote on the adjusted compensation or soldiers' bonus bill.

Speaking of our parliamentary difficulties, we only have to go back a few years to the time when a resolution called the McLemore resolution was before this House to find an identical situation. We had motions of different kinds, and after all the votes were taken any Member on either side could go back to his constituents and claim that he voted any certain way, and then proceed to prove it; and unless we get this rule passed so that we may get this vote directly on the compensation law now, Members will be in a position where men can claim they were for it who were not for it, and men will not be able to deny that they were not against it?

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I have only a short time.

Mr. GARRETT. I will try to take care of the gentleman as to any time that I may use. I would like to ask the gentleman a question, although I do not like to embarrass the gentleman. I would like to ask him if he knows anything of an agreement to the effect that if this rule giving six days' suspension is defeated they will immediately call up the rule adopted by the Committee on Rules to which the gentleman has referred?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I will be glad to answer the gentleman. I will say to him that in my opinion the chairman of the Committee on Rules will abide by the vote of this House when this rule is brought before the House for action. If a majority of the House says that at this time they do not wish to consider this legislation that vote will be considered as final. As unfair as it may seem and may be, I believe that those voting against the rule must be considered as voting against the legislation. But I had not intended to discuss that question. [Applause.]

Now, in order to be fair to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT], I ought to say that he must be referring to some negotiations or some discussions before a committee of this House of which he is a member, the proceedings of which he properly and rightfully did not touch upon, yet which I might fairly discuss, so long as I did not say what occurred in the committee room, and he might very easily have gathered the inference that there would be another vote. [Applause.] I think I should say that much in fairness to the gentleman.

Now, I am sorry to see members of the Democratic Party that I absolutely know have been and are in favor of adjusted-compensation legislation being forced to vote with, or being put in the position of voting with, the "battalion of death" on this side, who will vote against any kind of legislation, and therefore have it go out before the people of this country that you individual Democrats, like the minority leader, the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], who I know favors this legislation or this kind of legislation—have it go out before the people of this country that you, the Democratic Party, defeated it. And yet that is just the situation that you will be placed in, because if there is going to be another vote I do not know it, and therefore I assume we will have to live or die on this particular vote, whether the rule is iniquitous or not—and I would prefer that you do not question me about that [laughter and applause]—whether the law is what it should be or not. I do not like certain features of it any more than some of you on both sides like it. I only say that the thing to do, if you are in favor of adjusted compensation, is to pass this rule and pass the bill and then come back next session, when the first revenue bill is before the House, and if you so elect to vote, we will put a reasonable war-profits tax on the revenue law. That will raise some of the money needed to be raised to pay this bill, and we will obtain legislation for the soldier at the present time. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Tennessee use the remainder of his time?

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, this is one of the most outrageous rules that was ever proposed in this House. [Applause.] The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Long-



WORTH], who is by no manner of means a spring chicken, has been popping up here all day, asking if this is not the usual practice—that is, to pass a resolution making the last six days of the long session suspension days. It is not. I am pretty well advanced in my twenty-sixth year here. It was never done but once, and that was when the Democrats were carrying on a stubborn filibuster and were tying up the Republicans tight as a drum, and the Republicans brought in a very excruciating sort of a rule, which among other things provided that you could suspend the rules and pass a bill by a simple majority. Outside of that, it has never been done, and it is exceedingly bad practice.

I will tell the Speaker something he does not know, which he can learn only by experience: If they pass this rule, he will be nearly insane by the time the six days are up. Every man here who has got a job on hand will be after him to get a chance to pass it under suspension of the rules.

I want to get at the real substance of this whole business. I want to suggest to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], and that on high authority, that—

It is excellent  
To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous  
To use it like a giant.

Now, here is the situation. I know it as well as if I had been through the gentleman's pockets. If this rule is beaten, and it ought to be beaten, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] will immediately bring in a rule here to take up this bonus bill. And I want to tell you gentlemen over here now, my young soldier friend from Kentucky [Mr. Swope], and the rest of you, the statement printed in the newspapers that the Democrats are against this compensation bill is a lie. [Applause.] I am rather inclined to think that I am a Democrat. I think I could prove it if necessary. I am in favor of a compensation bill to the soldiers and have been from the beginning and have favored it on this floor. My son would not get a cent out of it because he was a colonel, and colonels do not participate under this bill; hence nobody can claim that I am voting public money into his pocket; but I think about these poor fellows who marched in the mud and were in the trenches, half fed, and sometimes only half clothed, and I am in favor of a soldiers' compensation bill. And if I am not a Democrat, there is not one on top of the earth. [Applause.]

In the second place, these capitalistic newspapers that are accusing everybody who is in favor of a compensation bill of any kind of being a demagogue are infernal liars. I have no opposition for renomination to Congress in my district, and I am in favor of a compensation bill. And now I will tell you young people over here, the kindergarten class needs some education on this subject. The worst way to pass bills that has ever been devised in this House is by suspension of the rules. Now, where are you? If you vote for this rule, it will take a two-thirds vote to pass the bonus bill. If you beat this rule, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] will come in here with his inside pocket full of rules, and the first one will be to take up the bonus bill in such a way that you can not amend it. If that rule is defeated, I will risk my reputation as a prophet that the next thing he will do will be to bring in a rule here to discuss the bonus business under the general rules of the House. [Applause.] And that is what we want. We want to change some of the tax features that are provided in that bonus bill. I am in favor of getting the money out of the profiteers who piled up fortunes during the war. [Applause.]

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. I will ask the gentleman if during the time he was Speaker he did not recognize Gen. SHERWOOD to move to suspend the rules on the last general pension bill passed during the last administration in order to avoid amendments?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I recognized him because it was suspension day and he made the motion. I have forgotten all the reasons, but I did not want his bill busted up. I will say that.

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. And we do not want this one busted up.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Now, if you people are so anxious for a bonus bill you do what I tell you. You vote down this rule and then when the chairman of the Committee on Rules [Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas] brings in a rule providing that we can not amend the bonus bill you vote that down, and then public opinion in this House will force him to bring in a rule here to take it up under the general rules of this House.

I will tell you where you are headed. If this rule passes, then every bill that is taken up here in the six days will require

a two-thirds majority in order to pass it. You can not recommend it, you can not amend it, and it has got to go through just as it is written.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman does not mean just that. He says every bill considered here in the next six days would require a two-thirds vote. Of course, the gentleman knows that is not accurate. All bills that were considered under suspension of the rules, of course, would require a two-thirds vote, but there might be few and there might be many bills so considered.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That is correct; but the whole time would be devoted to suspension of the rules, would it not? Every man here who has a bill will go after the Speaker to get him to recognize him to move to suspend the rules.

Now, about adjournment. Of course, the short session has six days before the 4th of March, so that there is a definite time fixed for the beginning of the six days before adjournment in the short session in which to suspend the rules; but if the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] brought in a rule here providing for adjournment in six days from now you could not pass it. I am in favor of this House staying here until the public business is transacted. [Applause.] That is what we were sent here for. I should like very well to be at home. It is a good deal more pleasant there than this place here, but I am willing to stay here clear through until the 4th of March to transact the public business that ought to be transacted for the good of the American people. [Applause.] This war legislation ought to be repealed and we ought to get back to prewar conditions.

I hope everybody understands what the situation is. I will state it again. In the first place, this rule is dangerous. Every kind of a job can be put through under it. They will form an association—the suspension of the rules fellows—and you can not beat them when they form that association. I have seen it done.

If you beat this rule, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] will bring in a rule on the bonus bill that will not allow any amendment to it. That will either go through or it will not. If it does not go through, the public opinion of this House will drive him into bringing in a rule here to take up that bill under the general rules of the House, and that is the way it ought to be taken up, and give us a chance to amend this tax system. And my advice to everybody on both sides, and especially to the men in favor of this bonus legislation, is to vote this rule down, because it can not end in any good to you. It is very doubtful whether you can muster any two-thirds in this House for it. There are people against it on both sides. All of you who have been here paying attention to your business know that. You will get a fair chance that way, and you do not get any fair chance this way. Some people are opposed to certain features of the bill, and some people want to put other features into it.

Mr. GARRETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT. It might be well to call attention to the fact that it only takes a majority to pass it under the general rules.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes; it will only take a majority to pass it under the Campbell rule No. 2, and it will take two-thirds to pass it under a suspension of the rules. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Fess). The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired, and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, gentlemen who oppose legislation that will in a small degree compensate the soldiers of the Great War for the losses they sustained are opposed to this resolution. [Applause.]

Every gentleman who is opposed to legislation compensating the soldiers in any degree for losses they sustained are opposed to this resolution. [Applause.]

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. No; I can not yield now.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes; you can. [Laughter.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Every gentleman on this side of the House who voted against laying the appeal from the decision of the Chair on the table is opposed to compensating the soldiers of the Republic who bared their breasts to shot and shell on the fields of Flanders. [Applause.]

No gentleman who has so far discussed this question can refrain from announcing his opposition to some feature in this bill. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] says he is in

favor of compensating the soldiers. The soldiers in the country will take his vote upon this resolution rather than what he says about it. [Applause.]

"By their fruits ye shall know them." The time has come to unmask on this question. It is time to raise the barrage. It is time now to compel gentlemen to go over the top, to go out where they will face the foe, vote aye or no, and you who vote no against this resolution will be known to the country and known everywhere as opposed to soldiers' indemnity legislation. [Cries of "No, no!"] Gentlemen should at least not violate the rules of the House.

I say now that on this side of the House gentlemen who are opposed to this legislation did not during any time that legislation was offered here in favor of war contractors vote against any measure or any appropriation that favored them. [Applause.] No gentleman on this side of the House representing the great taxpayers objected to any legislation that would compensate every man who had a contract with the Government during the war. [Applause.] It was not then said that legislation that imposed these burdens on the country would bankrupt the Treasury. It was not then said that it would bring on a panic. It was not then said that the people could not stand additional taxation. Some of you are opposed to this legislation because it taxes certain gamblers in Wall Street and in Chicago. [Applause.] And every one of you who votes against this resolution votes to protect from taxation the gamblers on the stock exchange in New York and the grain exchange in Chicago. [Applause.]

Who are the boys for whom this legislation is intended? They are the boys who shed imperishable glory on the history of the Republic. [Applause.] They terminated the war a year or a year and a half earlier than it had been expected it would terminate. And I call the attention of you gentlemen over here to this fact, that if it had not been for the bravery and the indomitable courage and endurance of these boys the Kaiser would be levying tribute on you to-day. [Applause.] You made this statement in the opera houses and in the churches to the people you addressed in support of the bond issues during the war.

Now, I want to unmask a little further. Some of you on the Democratic side who are opposed to this legislation are opposed to it because 350,000 to 375,000 colored boys would come within its provisions. I deny now in their behalf and in behalf of every man who wore the uniform of his country and followed its colors that they will waste this money and become profligate by reason of receiving it.

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. No. The young men who enlisted in this great war or who were drafted for the war came out of it mature and great men, and they will save this country from all enemies in the years to come. [Applause.] They are entitled to some compensation for the losses they sustained during two awful years.

Mr. UPSHAW. Give us a chance for a straight vote.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. You will have a chance in five minutes. [Applause.] If you vote it down, you must square yourselves with your consciences.

You say this is to buy the vote of the soldiers?

Mr. PELL. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That is the most infamous charge that could be made against these brave boys, and no man who has regard for their integrity and for their place in history, would make that statement. Their votes can not be bought. No men in the history of wars suffered more from the time they entered the cantonments until the armistice was signed than these boys, and many of them suffered every agony after the armistice was signed. These boys went through a literal hell in the cantonments, and in the camps, in the trenches, in the field, and whether they were in the air, on the land, on the sea, or under the sea, they rendered great service and terminated, in glorious victory, the greatest war in history. [Applause.]

It is proposed to raise a billion and a quarter dollars in their behalf. We have already paid two and a quarter billion dollars to the contractors since the armistice was signed, and you gentlemen voted it. You never uttered a word against that legislation. You did not say that it was infamous. To-day you attempt to cover yourselves behind a barrage of an alleged drastic rule and say you can not vote for this thing. If it was not for this soldier legislation, there would scarcely be a single vote in this House against this resolution. The opposition to this resolution grows out of the fact that immediately upon its adoption the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORBNEY] will be recognized by the Speaker to move to suspend the rules and pass the bill that will provide some compensation for these splendid boys. Are you in favor of it?

SEVERAL MEMBERS (on the Democratic side). Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Then vote for the resolution so you can vote for the bill. If you are against this legislation, you will go on record against this resolution.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. No; I can not yield. You will vote against this resolution if you are against this legislation. You can not play fast and loose, hot and cold, on this question.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. No; I do not yield. You can not say in one breath that you are for the soldiers, for compensation for them, and then as soon as you have an opportunity vote against a resolution that makes it possible to consider the bill that would give them the compensation that has been agreed upon. This bill provides everything the soldiers ask for and one thing more, viz, the insurance feature. It provides for raising the revenue by taxing stock and grain gamblers, by taxing large incomes, by taxing transfers of real estate, by taxing tobacco, and by taxing stock dividends. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired. All time has expired. By agreement the previous question is ordered. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that he was in doubt.

The House proceeded to divide.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 220, nays 165, answered "present" 1, not voting 41, as follows:

## YEAS—220.

Anderson	Fess	Langley	Riddick
Andrews, Md.	Fields	Larsen	Robison, Ky.
Andrews, Nebr.	Focht	Layton	Rodenberg
Ashbrook	Fordney	Little	Romjue
Bakka	Foster	Longworth	Rose
Bacharach	Frear	Luhring	Rouse
Baer	French	McArthur	Rubey
Barbour	Fuller, Ill.	McCulloch	Sanders, Ind.
Begg	Gahivan	McKenzie	Sanders, N. Y.
Benham	Gandy	McKinley	Schall
Bland, Ind.	Ganly	McKinley	Scott
Boles	Garland	McLane	Sells
Bowers	Goldfogle	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sherwood
Briggs	Goodykoontz	McLaughlin, Nebr.	Siegel
Britten	Graham, Ill.	McPherson	Sinclair
Brooks, Ill.	Green, Iowa	MacCrate	Sinnott
Brooks, Pa.	Greene, Mass.	MacGregor	Siemp
Browne	Griest	Madden	Smith, Idaho
Brumbaugh	Hadley	Maher	Smith, Ill.
Burdick	Hamill	Mapes	Smith, Mich.
Burke	Hamilton	Mays	Smith, N. Y.
Caldwell	Hardy, Colo.	Mead	Snell
Campbell, Kans.	Harrell	Michener	Steenerson
Carew	Haugen	Miller	Stephens, Ohio
Carrs	Hawley	Monahan, Wis.	Stiness
Casey	Hays	Mondell	Strong, Kans.
Chindblom	Hersey	Mooney	Strong, Pa.
Christopherson	Hickey	Moore, Ohio	Summers, Wash.
Classon	Hill	Morgan	Sweet
Cooper	Hoch	Morin	Swope
Copley	Howard	Mott	Tague
Cramton	Hudspeth	Mudd	Taylor, Colo.
Crowther	Hull, Iowa	Murphy	Taylor, Tenn.
Cullen	Ireland	Neely	Thomas
Currie, Mich.	James	Nelson, Wis.	Thompson
Darrow	Jeffers	Newton, Mo.	Timberlake
Davey	Johnson, Ky.	Nolan	Tincher
Davis, Minn.	Johnson, S. Dak.	O'Connell	Towner
Denison	Johnson, Wash.	O'Connor	Vaile
Dickinson, Mo.	Jones, Pa.	Ogden	Vare
Dickinson, Iowa	Juhl	Olney	Vestal
Donovan	Kearns	Osborne	Vinson
Dooling	Keller	Porter	Voigt
Dowell	Kelley, Mich.	Purnell	Volstead
Dunbar	Kelly, Pa.	Quin	Walters
Dunn	Kennedy, R. I.	Radcliffe	Watson
Dyer	Kless	Raker	Webster
Echols	Kincheloe	Ramseyer	Wheeler
Elliott	King	Randall, Calif.	White, Kans.
Emerson	Kinkaid	Randall, Wis.	White, Me.
Esch	Kieccka	Reavis	Williams
Evans, Mont.	Knutson	Reber	Wilson, Ill.
Evans, Nebr.	Kraus	Reed, N. Y.	Wilson, Pa.
Fairfield	Kreider	Reed, W. Va.	Yates
Ferris	Lampert	Ricketts	Zihlman

## NAYS—165.

Ackerman	Bland, Va.	Clark, Mo.	Doughton
Almon	Blanton	Coady	Drewry
Anthony	Box	Collier	Dupré
Aswell	Brand	Connally	Eagan
Ayres	Buchanan	Crago	Eagle
Bankhead	Burroughs	Crisp	Fisher
Barkley	Butler	Dallinger	Flood
Bee	Byrnes, S. C.	Davis, Tenn.	Freeman
Bell	Byrnes, Tenn.	Dempsey	Fuller, Mass.
Benson	Campbell, Pa.	Dent	Gallagher
Black	Candler	Dewalt	Garner
Blackmon	Cannon	Dominick	Garrett
Bland, Mo.	Caraway	Doremus	Glynn



Godwin, N. C.  
Good  
Goodwin, Ark.  
Greene, Vt.  
Griffin  
Hardy, Tex.  
Harrison  
Hegin  
Hersman  
Hicks  
Hoey  
Holland  
Huddleston  
Hull, Tenn.  
Humphreys  
Husted  
Hutchinson  
Igoe  
Jacoway  
Johnson, Miss.  
Johnston, N. Y.  
Jones, Tex.  
Kahn  
Kennedy, Iowa  
Lanham  
Lazaro  
Lea, Calif.  
Lee, Ga.  
Leshner

Lehlbach  
Linthicum  
Lonergan  
Luce  
Lufkin  
McAndrews  
McClintic  
McDuffie  
McFadden  
McGlennon  
McKeown  
Magee  
Major  
Mann, Ill.  
Mann, S. C.  
Martin  
Merritt  
Milligan  
Minahan, N. J.  
Montague  
Moon  
Moore, Va.  
Moore, Ind.  
Nelson, Mo.  
Newton, Minn.  
Nicholls  
Oldfield  
Oliver  
Overstreet

Padgett  
Paige  
Park  
Parker  
Parrish  
Peters  
Phelan  
Platt  
Pou  
Rainey, Ala.  
Rainey, H. T.  
Rainey, J. W.  
Ramsey  
Rayburn  
Riordan  
Robinson, N. C.  
Rogers  
Rowe  
Sabath  
Sanders, La.  
Sanford  
Sims  
Sisson  
Stegall  
Stedman  
Steele  
Stephens, Miss.  
Stevenson

Stoll  
Summers, Tex.  
Taylor, Ark.  
Temple  
Tilson  
Tinkham  
Treadway  
Upshaw  
Venable  
Ward  
Walsh  
Wason  
Watkins  
Weaver  
Welling  
Welty  
Whaley  
Wilson, La.  
Wingo  
Winslow  
Wise  
Wood, Ind.  
Woods, Va.  
Woodyard  
Wright  
Young, Tex.

#### ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1. Gard

#### NOT VOTING—41.

Booher  
Brinson  
Cantrill  
Carter  
Clark, Fla.  
Cleary  
Cole  
Costello  
Curry, Calif.  
Dale  
Drane

Edmonds  
Ellsworth  
Elston  
Evans, Nev.  
Goodall  
Gould  
Graham, Pa.  
Hastings  
Hayden  
Hernandez  
Houghton

Hulings  
Kendall  
Kettner  
Kitchin  
Lankford  
Mansfield  
Mason  
Rhodes  
Rowan  
Rucker  
Scully

Sears  
Shreve  
Small  
Smithwick  
Snyder  
Sullivan  
Tillman  
Young, N. Dak.

So the resolution was adopted.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

On the vote:

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania (for) with Mr. GARD (against).

Mr. DALE (for) with Mr. HOUGHTON (against).

Mr. RHODES (for) with Mr. GOULD (against).

Mr. HAYDEN (for) with Mr. EDMONDS (against).

Mr. KENDALL (for) with Mr. KITCHIN (against).

General pairs:

Mr. SNYDER with Mr. CARTER.

Mr. HERNANDEZ with Mr. HASTINGS.

Mr. ELSTON with Mr. DRANE.

Mr. COSTELLO with Mr. BOOHER.

Mr. CURRY of California with Mr. BRINSON.

Mr. HOUGHTON with Mr. SCULLY.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota with Mr. SEARS.

Mr. HULINGS with Mr. MANSFIELD.

Mr. MASON with Mr. SMITHWICK.

Mr. GOODALL with Mr. ROWAN.

Mr. ELLSWORTH with Mr. CANTRILL.

Mr. SHREVE with Mr. KETTNER.

Mr. COLE with Mr. SULLIVAN.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, on the roll call I voted "no." I have a special pair with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. GRAHAM, and I desire to withdraw my vote of "no" and answer "present."

The name of Mr. GARD was called, and he answered "Present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the rules be suspended and that the House pass the bill H. R. 14157, known as the soldiers' bonus bill. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan moves to suspend the rules and pass the bill which the Clerk will report by title.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. No; report it in full.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 14157) to provide adjusted compensation for veterans of the World War; to provide revenue therefor; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc.—

#### TITLE I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS. DEFINITIONS.

SECTION 1. This act may be cited as the "World War adjusted compensation act."

SEC. 2. As used in this act—

The term "veteran" includes any individual, a member of the military or naval forces of the United States at any time after April 5, 1917, and before November 12, 1918; but does not include (1) any individual at any time during such period or thereafter separated from such forces under other than honorable conditions, (2) any conscientious objector who performed no military duty whatever or refused to

wear the uniform, or (3) any alien at any time during such period or thereafter discharged from the military or naval forces on account of his alienage; and

The term "adjusted service pay" means the amount of the payment to which the veteran would be entitled under the provisions of Title II.

#### OPTIONAL PLANS.

SEC. 3. Each veteran shall have the right to avail himself of any one, but only one, of the following plans:

- (1) To receive "adjusted service pay" as provided in Title II;
- (2) To receive an "adjusted service certificate" as provided in Title III;
- (3) To receive "vocational training aid," as provided in Title IV;
- (4) To receive "farm or home aid," as provided in Title V; or
- (5) To receive "land settlement aid," as provided in Title VI.

#### APPLICATION BY VETERAN.

SEC. 4. (a) The veteran's choice among the plans enumerated in section 3 shall be made by application filed with the Secretary of War, if he is serving in, or his last service was with, the military forces; or with the Secretary of the Navy, if he is serving in, or his last service was with the naval forces.

(b) Applications for adjusted service pay shall be made within 6 months after the passage of this act.

Applications for adjusted service certificates shall be made within one year after the passage of this act.

Applications for vocational training aid or for farm or home aid, shall be made within one year after the passage of this act; except that in the case of an individual in active service in the military or naval forces at the time of the passage of this act, obligated to serve for a definite period, the application may be made within one year after the termination of such period, and in case such active service is for an indefinite period, application may be made within two years after the passage of this act.

Applications for land settlement aid shall be made within one year after the passage of this act; but if application is made within such time, the time for receiving the credits and exercising the preferences provided for in Title VI shall be as specified in such title.

Any application not made within the time provided therefor shall be held void.

(c) An application shall be made (1) personally by the veteran, or (2) in case physical or mental incapacity or absence from the continental United States prevents the making of a personal application, then by such representative of the veteran and in such manner as the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall jointly by regulation prescribe. An application made by a representative other than one required by any such regulation shall be held void.

(d) The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall jointly make any regulations necessary to the efficient administration of the provisions of this section.

#### PROOF OF VETERAN'S CHOICE OF PLAN.

SEC. 5. (a) As soon as practicable after the receipt of a valid application, the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as the case may be, shall transmit to the Secretary of the Treasury, if the veteran has chosen an adjusted service certificate, or to the Federal Board for Vocational Education if the veteran has chosen vocational training aid, or to the National Veterans Settlement Board if the veteran has chosen farm or home aid, or land settlement aid, a certificate setting forth:

- (1) That the applicant is a veteran;
- (2) His name and address;
- (3) The plan chosen; and
- (4) The amount of adjusted service pay to which he would be entitled if he had chosen that plan.

(b) Upon receipt of such certificate, the officer or board to which it is transmitted shall proceed to extend to the veteran the benefits conferred by the plan chosen, at the time, in the manner, and under the conditions provided for in the title of this act covering such plan.

#### PUBLICITY.

SEC. 6. (a) The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall, as soon as practicable after the passage of this act, jointly prepare and publish a pamphlet or pamphlets containing a digest and explanation of the provisions of this act, accompanied by such statements as to the comparative advantages of each of the plans enumerated in section 3, as may be of assistance to veterans in making their choice among such plans; and shall from time to time thereafter jointly prepare and publish such additional or supplementary information as may be found necessary.

(b) The officer or board having charge of the administration of any plan or part thereof enumerated in section 3 shall transmit to the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy as soon as practicable after the passage of this act full information and explanations as to the matters of which such officer or board has charge, which shall be considered by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy in preparing the publications referred to in subdivision (a).

(c) The publications provided for in subdivision (a) shall be distributed in such manner as the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy may determine to be most effective to inform veterans of their rights under this act.

#### STATISTICS.

SEC. 7. Immediately upon the passage of this act the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall ascertain the individuals who are veterans as defined in section 2, and, as to each veteran, the number of days of overseas service and of home service, as defined in section 201, for which he is entitled to receive adjusted service pay; and their decisions shall not be subject to review by the accounting officers of the Treasury.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS.

SEC. 8. Any officer or board charged with the administration of any plan under this act, or of any part thereof, shall make such regulations, not inconsistent with this act, as may be necessary to the efficient administration of the matter of which such officer or board has charge.

#### DEDUCTION OF OVERPAYMENTS.

SEC. 9. After computing the amount of payment to be made to the veteran under any one of the plans enumerated in section 3, or after using his adjusted service pay as the basis for any compensation under this act, there shall be deducted from the amount thus obtained the amount of any overpayment previously made in respect to the service of the veteran in the military or naval forces.

SEC. 10. Any officer or board charged with the administration of any plan under this act, or of any part thereof, shall make a full report to Congress on the first Monday of December of each year.

SEC. 11. No sum payable under this act to a veteran, or to his estate, or to any beneficiary named under Title III, shall be subject to attachment, levy, or seizure under any legal or equitable process.

#### TITLE II.—ADJUSTED SERVICE PAY.

SEC. 201. As used in this title—

The term "overseas service" means service on shore in Europe or Asia, exclusive of China, Japan, and the Philippine Islands; and service afloat, including the period from the date of embarkation for such service to the date of disembarkation on return from such service, both dates inclusive; and

The term "home service" means all service not overseas service.

SEC. 202. There shall be paid to any veteran, upon application in accordance with the provisions of section 4 and in addition to any other amounts due him in pursuance of law, the following sums for each day of active service, in excess of 60 days, in the military or naval forces of the United States after April 5, 1917, and before July 1, 1919, as shown by the service or other record of the veteran: \$1.25 for each day of overseas service, and \$1 for each day of home service; but the amount payable to a veteran who performed no overseas service shall not exceed \$500, and the amount payable to a veteran who performed any overseas service shall not exceed \$625.

SEC. 203. (a) No such payment shall be made to—

(1) Any commissioned officer above the grade of captain in the Army or Marine Corps, lieutenant in the Navy, first lieutenant or first lieutenant of engineers in the Coast Guard, or passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, or having the pay and allowances, if not the rank, of any officer superior in rank to any of such grades; in each case for the period of service as such;

(2) Any individual holding a permanent or provisional commission or permanent or acting warrant in any branch of the military or naval forces, for the period of service under such commission or warrant after the accrual of the right to pay thereunder;

(3) Any civilian officer or employee of any branch of the military or naval forces, contract surgeon, cadet of the United States Military Academy, midshipman, cadet of the Coast Guard, member of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, member of the Students' Army Training Corps (except an enlisted man detailed thereto), member of the United States Guards, member of a development battalion (except an officer or enlisted man detailed thereto), member of the United States Disciplinary Barracks Guard, Philippine Scout, member of the Philippine Guard, member of the Philippine Constabulary, member of the Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry, member of the National Guard of Hawaii, member of the insular force of the Navy, member of the Samoan native guard and band of the Navy, or Indian Scout—in each case for the period of service as such;

(4) Any individual entering the military or naval forces after November 11, 1918—for any period after such entrance;

(5) Any individual originally entering the service for special or limited service only—for the period of such special or limited service not overseas service;

(6) Any individual performing home service not with troops and receiving commutation of quarters or of subsistence—for the period of such service;

(7) Any member of the Public Health Service—for any period during which he was not detailed for duty with the Army or the Navy;

(8) Any individual granted a farm or industrial furlough—for the period of such furlough;

(9) Any individual detailed for work on roads or other highway construction or repair work—for the period during which his pay was equalized to conform to the compensation paid to civilian employees in the same or like employment, pursuant to the provisions of section 9 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes," approved February 28, 1919;

(10) Any individual who has been absent from duty on account of disease resulting from his own intemperate use of drugs or alcoholic liquors or from other misconduct—for the period of such absence; or

(11) Any individual who has been absent without proper authority for more than one day, or in confinement under sentence or awaiting trial and disposition of his case, if the trial resulted in conviction—for the period of such absence or confinement.

(b) The periods referred to in paragraphs (5) and (6) of subdivision (a) may be included in the case of any individual if and to the extent that the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy jointly find that such service subjected such individual to exceptional hazard. A full statement of all action under this subdivision shall be included in the reports of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy required by section 10.

(c) In computing the payments to any veteran under this title effect shall be given to all paragraphs of subdivision (a) which are applicable.

(d) If part of the service is overseas service and part is home service, the home service shall first be used in computing the 60 days' period referred to in section 202.

(e) For the purpose of computing the 60 days' period referred to in section 202, any period of service after April 5, 1917, and before July 1, 1919, in the military or naval forces in any capacity may be included, notwithstanding payment for such period, or a part thereof, is prohibited under the provisions of subdivision (a) of this section, except that the periods referred to in paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of subdivision (a) shall not be included.

(f) For the purposes of section 202, in the case of members of the National Guard or of the National Guard Reserve called into service by the proclamation of the President dated July 3, 1917, the time of service between the date of call into the service as specified in such proclamation and August 5, 1917, both dates inclusive, shall be deemed to be active service in the military or naval forces of the United States.

SEC. 204. (a) The payments authorized by the provisions of this title shall be made in installments, beginning July 1, 1921, as follows: (1) If the total amount payable is \$500 or over, in 10 equal quarterly installments; and (2) if the total amount payable is less than \$500, in quarterly installments of \$50; except that any installment necessary to complete the payments may be less than \$50.

(b) If before the completion of the installment payments the veteran is separated from the military or naval forces under other than honorable conditions, or is discharged therefrom on account of his alienage, no further installments shall be paid. Payments shall be made by the Secretary of War if the veteran is serving in, or his last service was with, the military forces; and by the Secretary of the Navy, if he is serving in, or his last service was with, the naval forces.

SEC. 205. If the veteran dies after making application in accordance with the provisions of section 4 for adjusted service pay and before receiving all the installment payments, the payments authorized by the provisions of this title shall be made to his estate.

SEC. 206. No right to adjusted service pay under the provisions of this title shall be assignable or serve as security for any loan. Any assignment or loan made in violation of the provisions of this section shall be held void. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall not pay the amount of adjusted service pay to any person other than the veteran or his estate or such representative of the veteran as the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall jointly by regulation prescribe.

#### TITLE III.—ADJUSTED SERVICE CERTIFICATES.

SEC. 301. When used in this title, the term "date of application" means the date upon which the application of the veteran for an adjusted service certificate, made in accordance with the provisions of section 4, is received by the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy.

SEC. 302. The Secretary of the Treasury, upon certification from the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as provided in section 5, is hereby directed to issue without cost to the veteran designated therein an adjusted service certificate (hereinafter in this title referred to as a "certificate") of a face value equal to the sum of (1) the adjusted service pay of the veteran increased by 40 per cent, plus (2) interest thereon for 20 years at the rate of 4½ per cent per annum, compounded annually (such amount being approximately equal to 3.38 times the adjusted service pay of the veteran). The certificate and all rights conferred under the provisions of this title shall take effect as of the date of application therefor. The veteran shall name the beneficiary of the certificate and may from time to time, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, alter such beneficiary. The amount of the face value of the certificate shall be payable (1) to the veteran 20 years after the date of application therefor, or (2) upon the death of the veteran prior to the expiration of such 20 years, to the beneficiary named; except that if such beneficiary dies before the veteran and no new beneficiary is named, or if the beneficiary in the first instance has not yet been named, the amount of the certificate shall be paid to the estate of the veteran.

SEC. 303. There is hereby established in the Treasury a revolving fund to be known as the "adjusted service certificate loan fund" (hereinafter in this title referred to as the "fund"). The Postmaster General is authorized to make loans out of such fund upon the certificate of any veteran. The amount of such loans to any one veteran outstanding at any one time shall not exceed—

(a) If the loan is made during the third to fifth years, inclusive, after the date of application for the certificate, 90 per cent of the sum of (1) the adjusted service pay of the veteran plus (2) interest thereon, from the date of application for the certificate to the time of making of the loan, at the rate of 4½ per cent per annum, compounded annually, or

(b) If the loan is made during the sixth to twentieth years, inclusive, after the date of application for the certificate, 80 per cent of the sum of (1) the adjusted service pay of the veteran increased by 40 per cent, plus (2) interest thereon from the date of application for the certificate to the time of the making of the loan, at the rate of 4½ per cent per annum, compounded annually.

SEC. 304. Moneys in the fund shall be available to make all loans upon certificates. The Postmaster General is hereby authorized to set aside out of the fund such reserve moneys as may be required to make such loans, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to invest the remainder of the moneys in the fund in interest-bearing obligations of the United States. Such obligations may at the discretion of the Secretary be sold and the proceeds reinvested in other interest-bearing obligations of the United States, and shall be sold and the proceeds made available for the purposes of the fund, whenever the Postmaster General certifies that in his opinion further amounts are required for the purposes of the fund. The fund shall be discontinued 23 years after the passage of this act and any moneys therein at such time shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

SEC. 305. No loan shall be made upon any certificate within 2 years after the date of application for the certificate. Application for loans may be made to any postmaster of a first, second, or third class post office. The veteran shall give a note for the repayment of the loan upon an amortization plan by means of a fixed number of annual installments sufficient to cover (1) interest on the unpaid principal at the rate of 4½ per cent per annum, and (2) such amount of the principal as will extinguish the debt within an agreed period not exceeding the life of the certificate. The veteran may, however, pay any or all installments of the principal previous to their due date. The Postmaster General shall by regulation prescribe the form of application, and the duration, number, and amount of installments, and such other conditions as he deems advisable, of the loan. All payments in respect to the loan shall be made through a first, second, or third class post office. Any moneys received for the repayment of the loan shall be covered into the fund. Whenever the Postmaster General finds that the borrower is in arrears for more than 2 years in his installments upon the note or has violated any other condition thereof, he shall certify such fact to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall thereupon declare the certificate of the borrower to be forfeited.

SEC. 306. No certificate issued or right conferred under the provisions of this title shall be negotiable or assignable or serve as security for a loan other than one made under the provisions of section 303. Any loan made in violation of any provision of this section shall be held void. Whenever the Secretary of the Treasury finds that any such certificate or right has been negotiated or assigned, or has served as security, in violation of a provision of this section, the rights of the veteran under this title shall be forfeited.

SEC. 307. In the case of the death of the borrower or the forfeiture of his certificate or rights under this title, any loan made upon the certificate and the note in respect thereto shall be deemed canceled. The Secretary of the Treasury shall thereupon reimburse the Postmaster General for all unpaid installments upon any canceled loan; and in case such loan has been canceled as a result of the death of the borrower, the Secretary of the Treasury shall deduct the amount of such reimbursement from the amount of the face value of the certificate in respect to which the loan is made.

SEC. 308. Any certificate issued under the provisions of this title shall have printed upon its face the conditions and terms upon which it is issued and to which it is subject.

#### TITLE IV.—VOCATIONAL TRAINING AID.

SEC. 401. The Federal Board for Vocational Education (hereinafter in this title referred to as the "board") upon certification from the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as provided in section 5, is hereby directed to pay to the veteran designated therein (if he is



not receiving the benefits of the vocational rehabilitation act, as amended) the sum of \$1.75 for each day of his attendance on a course of vocational training previously approved by the board as suitable for such veteran. Such payment shall be made without deduction for Sundays, holidays, or vacations not exceeding two weeks in duration, or for absence for other cause which the board deems justifiable; but the total payment shall not exceed 140 per cent of the amount of adjusted service pay which the veteran would be entitled to receive if he had chosen that plan.

Payments under this section shall be made monthly, or at more frequent intervals, as the board may determine generally or in special cases.

SEC. 402. The board shall establish such regulations as will insure the regular attendance of the veteran on his course of training, and no sum or sums shall be payable under this title unless the board has been furnished proof of such regular attendance. For each day of unjustifiable absence the veteran shall forfeit the sum payable for that day, and shall receive no reimbursement for it in any other form.

SEC. 403. (a) If the payment under section 401 plus the amounts forfeited under section 402 is less than 140 per cent of the adjusted service pay, either by reason of the duration of the course approved, or by reason of the veteran's discontinuing, with the approval of the board, his attendance on his course of training, he shall be entitled to receive an amount equal to the difference between (1) his adjusted service pay and (2) that proportion thereof which the payments made or accrued under section 401 plus the amounts forfeited under section 402 bear to 140 per cent of his adjusted service pay: *Provided*, That from the amount thus computed there shall be deducted an amount equal to the sums forfeited under section 402.

(b) Such amount shall be paid to him by the board in such installments and at such times as will place him upon the same basis as if he had originally chosen to receive adjusted service pay as provided in Title II.

SEC. 404. If before the completion of the payments under this title the veteran is separated from the military or naval forces under other than honorable conditions, or is discharged therefrom on account of his alienage, no further payments shall be made under this title.

SEC. 405. (a) If the veteran dies, after making application in accordance with the provisions of section 4 and before any payments have been made or have accrued under this title, the amount of the adjusted service pay of the veteran shall be paid by the board to his estate.

(b) If the veteran dies, after the course of training has begun, his estate shall be paid by the board the same amount as would have been paid to the veteran under subdivision (a) of section 403, treating for such purposes the date of his death as the date of discontinuance of attendance on his course of training.

(c) The amounts payable under this section shall be payable in the same manner as provided in subdivision (b) of section 403.

SEC. 406. (a) The board is hereby authorized to cooperate with State boards for vocational education in such manner as will secure their assistance in the approval of courses of training for veterans, and other assistance in carrying out the provisions of this title.

(b) Whenever any State provides funds for assistance to veterans in attendance upon approved courses or provides for free tuition in approved educational institutions, the board is authorized and directed to cooperate with the State board for vocational education of such State in securing the maximum educational opportunities to veterans entitled to the benefits of this title.

#### TITLE V.—FARM OR HOME AID.

SEC. 501. The National Veterans Settlement Board created by Title VI (hereinafter in this title referred to as the "board") upon certification from the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as provided in section 5, is hereby directed to pay to the veteran designated therein, in one payment or in installments, an amount equal to his adjusted service pay increased by 40 per cent.

Such payment shall be made for the purpose, and only for the purpose, of enabling the veteran to make improvements on a city or suburban home, or a farm not selected under Title VI, or to purchase or make payments on such a home or farm.

SEC. 502. No such payment shall be made unless and until the board has approved the purpose for which it is desired by the veteran, and has suitable assurance that the money will be expended for such purpose. The board may, at the option of the veteran, or on its own motion, make the payment directly to the vendor or other person to whom such payment is due from the veteran.

SEC. 503. For the purpose of enabling it to pass upon the desirability of the investment the board may make use of the services of land bank appraisers of the Federal Farm Loan Board, to be designated by the latter board.

SEC. 504. (a) If the veteran dies, after making application in accordance with the provisions of section 4 for farm or home aid and before a contract has been entered into with the approval of the board, the amount of his adjusted service pay shall be paid by the board to his estate in such installments and at such times as will place the beneficiaries thereof upon the same basis as the veteran would have been if he had originally chosen to receive adjusted service pay as provided in Title II, but no such payment shall be made if the veteran has been separated from the military or naval forces under other than honorable conditions or discharged therefrom on account of his alienage.

(b) If before the veteran's death a contract has been entered into with the approval of the board, and payments under this title on such contract are still due, such payments shall be made by the board to the vendor or other person to whom such payments are due from the veteran.

#### TITLE VI.—LAND SETTLEMENT.

##### NATIONAL VETERANS SETTLEMENT BOARD.

SEC. 601. (a) There is hereby established a board to be known as the "National Veterans Settlement Board" (hereinafter in this title called the "board") and to be composed of five members, as follows:

(1) The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter in this title called the "secretary"), and

(2) Four members to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. At least three of the appointed members of the board shall be veterans.

(b) No veteran retired for age or longevity of service from active service in the military or naval forces shall be eligible for appointment to, or remain eligible for membership upon, the board. Any vacancy in the office of an appointed member shall be filled in the same manner and under the same limitations as in the case of the original appointment.

(c) The secretary shall be the executive and administrative officer to carry out the plans and purposes adopted by the board under the provisions of Title V and of this title. The members of the board, except the secretary, shall receive an annual salary of \$7,500. Of the members appointed to the board in the first instance, one shall be appointed for a term of two years, one for three years, one for four years, and one for five years. Their successors shall hold office for terms of five years; except that any member appointed to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he succeeds.

##### ESTABLISHMENT OF PROJECTS.

SEC. 602. The board is hereby authorized to establish veteran settlement projects (hereinafter in this title called "projects") for the reclamation and settlement of lands by means of irrigation, drainage, or other manner or method of development and improvement thereof, including the building of necessary public roads within the projects. Projects shall be selected by the board with a view to the development of one or more projects in each of the several States where the establishment of a project is feasible.

SEC. 603. (a) The board may by gift, purchase, deed in trust, or otherwise, acquire lands suitable for any project; but no project shall be finally selected, and no lands shall be acquired by purchase, unless the price and other conditions of acquisition have been submitted to and approved by (1) the governor of the State in which the lands are located, (2) as to price only, a land bank appraiser to be designated by the Federal Farm Loan Board, and (3) the board. If the governor of the State fails to signify his approval or disapproval within such time as the board by regulation shall determine, the land commissioner, or if there is in the State no official of such title, then the agency which under the laws of the State is authorized to perform the functions ordinarily exercised by a land commissioner, may act in lieu of the governor.

(b) In case any project includes privately owned land, no construction work shall be commenced upon the project, until the owners of all such land in the project have each conveyed or agreed to convey to the United States title to all land owned by him in excess of a farm unit as established for the project under the provisions of section 606.

(c) The Secretary (1) may withdraw from location, sale, settlement, entry, or other disposition and place under the control of the board, such unappropriated public lands as he deems necessary for any project, and (2) shall restore to public entry lands so withdrawn, if subsequently the board finds that such lands are not so required.

(d) The board may in its discretion contract with any irrigation or drainage district or other public corporation organized under the laws of the State in which the project is located to establish, develop, improve, and otherwise cooperate (in accordance with the provisions of this title) in the execution of, and the administration of the affairs of, any project comprising only the lands of such district or corporation.

##### COOPERATION WITH FEDERAL AND STATE AGENCIES.

SEC. 604. The board may, in executing the provisions of this title—

(1) Make use of, cooperate with, and allot moneys appropriated for its use to any existing agency of the Federal Government which agrees to act as the agent of the board. Such agency is hereby authorized, within the limits of the moneys allotted it and under the direction of the board, to perform work in connection with any project.

(2) Whenever a State provides funds to be expended by the board in the establishment, development, and improvement of any project within the State, the board may contract with the State or any agency thereof designated by the governor to cooperate with the board, to such extent as the board deems advisable, in the work in connection with the project. The board may further establish a branch office in the State to administer matters arising in connection with projects in the State.

(3) Whenever a State provides not less than 25 per cent of the amount of the funds which are, in the opinion of the board, necessary to be expended by it in the establishment, development, and improvement of any project within the State, the board shall authorize the State, or any agency thereof designated by the governor, to undertake, subject to the general supervision of the board, (a) the selection, acquisition, and subdivision of lands for, and the improvement of farms within, any project, and (b) the development thereof after the project is open to settlement.

SEC. 605. So far as practicable, veterans shall be employed and their services utilized in the administrative and field work necessary to the establishment and development of any project by the board and all Federal agencies cooperating therewith. All contracts or other agreements of the board with any cooperating State or agency thereof, shall contain a like stipulation. At the earliest practicable date each soldier so employed upon a project shall be allowed to select and shall be allotted, as hereinafter in this title provided, a farm unit upon which he may construct a dwelling and make other improvements.

##### ALLOTMENT AND SALE OF LANDS.

SEC. 606. (a) The board shall establish for each project or portion thereof (1) farm units of an acreage sufficient, in the opinion of the board, for cultivation by and the support of a family, and (2) farm worker's units of a smaller acreage sufficient, in the opinion of the board, for part-time cultivation by a farm worker's family.

(b) The board may set apart and reserve tracts within any project for use free from all charge for community and other public purposes, but the title to such lands shall remain in the United States. Whenever any such tract fails to be used for the purpose for which it was set apart and reserved, the board shall, after due notice and hearing, declare the tract forfeited to the United States. Such tract shall thereupon resume its original status.

(c) The board may establish town sites within any project and develop and sell lots therein under such regulations and upon such terms, as it shall prescribe. All moneys received by the board from any such sale shall be expended by the board in the development of the project.

SEC. 607. (a) When used hereinafter in this title, the term "repatriate" includes (1) any citizen of the United States who has served with the military or naval forces of any nation allied against the German Government or its allies without loss of citizenship, and (2) any former citizen of the United States who has served with loss of such citizenship but has since been repatriated; except that such term shall not include a veteran or any individual who was separated from such forces under other than honorable conditions.

(b) Whenever in the opinion of the board farm units or farm worker's units, within any project, are available for settlement, the board shall give public notice and description thereof, together with a statement of the construction charges and other conditions incident thereto, and shall mail individual notices to any veteran whose name has been certified to the board under the provisions of section 5. The board shall allot a farm unit or a farm worker's unit to any such veteran or repa-



triate who applies therefor in such manner as the board shall by regulation prescribe. As between applicants, preference in making allotments shall be given, first, to a veteran who has been employed upon and who has rendered substantial service in the development of any project; and, second, to a veteran or repatriate who, in the opinion of the board, is least likely to fail in his enterprise or to cause the United States loss.

SEC. 608. (a) The cost of construction including the purchase price of any lands acquired for the project, but excluding administrative expenses and the expenses of maintaining general offices and exercising general supervision over projects, shall be apportioned equitably among the farm units, farm workers' units, town lots, and other tracts within the project in proportion to the selling value of each unit, lot, or tract; and the total sale price of all lands within the project shall be fixed with a view of repaying the total of such construction cost of the project.

(b) Each allottee of a farm unit or farm worker's unit shall pay to the board such price as the board shall fix for the unit in pursuance of the provisions of subdivision (a) of this section; except that in case the allottee is a veteran, there shall be deducted from such price, the amount of his adjusted service pay.

(c) A veteran or repatriate may at his option, in lieu of payment in full at the time of entry, pay all balances due upon the purchase price for his unit upon an amortization plan by means of a fixed number of annual installments sufficient to cover (1) interest on the unpaid principal at the rate of 5 per cent per annum, and (2) such amount of the principal as will extinguish the debt within an agreed period not exceeding 40 years. In the case of a veteran, his adjusted service pay shall be considered as the first installment in payment for his unit and the payment of the remaining installments shall not commence until two years thereafter. The board may in its discretion, whenever it is of the opinion that any emergency has caused default in the payment of any installment of the veteran, postpone the payment of such installment until such date as it deems expedient. Such postponed payments shall continue to bear interest on the unpaid principal at the rate of 5 per cent per annum from the date of the contract of purchase. The board shall make such regulations as to residence upon, and use or cultivation of, units by a veteran or repatriate, as in the opinion of the board will carry out the purpose of making the unit his permanent home.

SEC. 609. A patent or deed, as the case demands, shall immediately be issued to a purchaser who has paid the full price for his unit, and may be issued at any time more than five years after the date of purchase to any purchaser under the amortization plan who has met all payments then due from him to the board and has observed all conditions prescribed by regulations issued under the provisions of subdivision (c) of section 608. Each such patent or deed shall expressly reserve to the United States a prior lien on the land patented or deeded, superior to all other liens, claims, or demands whatsoever, for the repayment of all sums due or to become due to the board.

SEC. 610. (a) If the veteran dies after making application in accordance with the provisions of section 4 for land settlement aid and before having entered into a contract of purchase under section 608, the amount of his adjusted service pay shall be paid by the board to his estate in such installments and at such times as will place the beneficiaries thereof upon the same basis as the veteran would have been if he had originally chosen to receive adjusted service pay as provided in Title II, but no such payment shall be made if the veteran has been separated from the military or naval forces under other than honorable conditions or discharged therefrom on account of his alienage.

(b) If the veteran or repatriate dies, previous to the completion of his contract of purchase, the successor by law to his interest in the land, if a widow or heir at law, may assume the contract of purchase. If the successor is other than a widow or heir at law, the balance due the board under the contract of purchase shall be due immediately and shall be paid the board within such time after the death of the veteran as the board shall by regulation prescribe.

SEC. 611. No lands within any project shall in any event become liable to the satisfaction of any debt contracted prior to the issue of the deed or patent therefor. No transfer, assignment, mortgage, or lease of the interest of any purchaser of a unit shall, unless approved by the board, be valid previous to the issue of the deed or patent for the land, or within five years after the date of purchase.

SEC. 612. Prior to the issue of a deed or patent, as the case may be, for any unit, lot, or tract within a project, such unit, lot, or tract shall be subject to taxation by any State or political subdivision thereof, but only upon the appraised value of the owner's interest in the land and improvements thereon. If the owner fails to pay any such tax or assessment, the board is authorized to pay such tax or assessment and to include the amount of the payment, together with interest and penalties at the rate provided by law for delinquent taxes in the State in which the land is located, in the installments payable under the contract of purchase.

SEC. 613. Upon the default of any payment due to the board under, or upon the violation of, the provisions of subdivision (c) of section 608, or of section 610, 611, or 612, the interest of the purchaser in the unit shall revert to the United States free of all encumbrances, but subject to the right of the defaulting debtor, or any mortgagee, lien holder, judgment creditor, or subsequent purchaser, to redeem the land, within one year after the board gives notice of such default, by payment of all moneys due with interest at 8 per cent per annum from the date of default, and costs. The board, at its option, may cause the land to be sold at any time after such failure to redeem. From the proceeds of the sale the board shall retain all moneys due, with interest as provided, and costs. The balance of the proceeds, if any, shall be the property of the defaulting debtor or his assignee. In the case of sale after failure to redeem under this section, the board is authorized to bid in such land at not more than the amount in default, including interest and costs.

SEC. 614. In case a veteran has entered upon land reclaimed under the reclamation law, the board shall, upon application of the veteran, pay to the reclamation fund the amount of the adjusted service pay of the veteran, and the Secretary of the Interior shall thereupon credit such sum to the amount payable to the fund by the veteran.

#### RECEIPTS FROM PROJECTS.

SEC. 615. All moneys received by the board as payments in respect to lands within any project, except money received from the sale of town sites as provided in section 606, shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts; except that from such receipts shall be deducted the amounts required to make such repayment or reimbursement to any State or designated agency thereof, or to any district or other public corporation, as is necessary to carry into effect the provisions of subdivision (d) of section 603 and of subdivisions (2) and (3) of section 604.

#### APPLICABILITY OF RECLAMATION LAW.

SEC. 616. The board shall, so far as possible, in executing the provisions of this title, make use of existing agencies in the Department of the Interior and comply with the reclamation law in so far as such law is applicable and not inconsistent with the provisions of this title. Such reclamation law shall, for the purposes of this title, be deemed applicable to the reclamation of lands by drainage or by any other manner or method, as well as to reclamation by irrigation. This section shall not be construed to give the board any control over the disposition of moneys in the reclamation fund.

#### APPROPRIATION.

SEC. 617. The board shall for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and annually thereafter, submit to Congress estimates of the amount necessary to be expended by it in executing the provisions of this title. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the aggregate sum of \$250,000,000, to be available for expenditure by the board, in accordance with the provisions of this title, during a period not to exceed 10 years after the passage of this act.

#### TITLE VII.—VICTORY TAXES.

##### ADDITIONAL SURTAX ON INCOMES.

SEC. 701. In addition to the surtax imposed by subdivision (a) of section 211 of the revenue act of 1918, there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid for the taxable years 1920, 1921, and 1922, upon the net income of every individual, a like surtax equal to the sum of the following:

- One per cent of the amount by which the net income exceeds \$5,000 and does not exceed \$10,000;
- Two per cent of the amount by which the net income exceeds \$10,000 and does not exceed \$26,000; and
- Three per cent of the amount by which the net income exceeds \$26,000.

Such tax shall be returned, assessed, collected, and paid upon the same basis, in the same manner, and subject to the same provisions of law, including penalties, as the surtax imposed by subdivision (a) of section 211 of the revenue act of 1918.

##### STOCK AND BOND TAX.

SEC. 702. On and after December 1, 1920, subdivision 4 of Schedule A of Title XI of the revenue act of 1918 is amended to read as follows:

"4. Stocks and bonds, sales or transfers: On all sales, or agreements to sell, or memoranda of sales or deliveries of, or transfers of legal title to: (a) Shares or certificates of stock or of profits or of interest in property or accumulations in any corporation or trust, or rights to subscribe for or to receive such shares or certificates, or (b) bonds, debentures, certificates of indebtedness, or other instruments evidencing indebtedness, however termed, any of the foregoing issued in serial form whether or not in serial maturities (hereinafter in this subdivision called "bonds"), the tax shall be as follows:

"Between December 1, 1920, and November 30, 1923, both dates inclusive, on each \$10 or fraction thereof of face value, 2 cents, unless the selling price is in excess of the face value, in which case the tax shall be 2 cents on each \$10 or fraction thereof of the selling price. In case of shares without face value the tax shall be 20 cents on each share, unless the selling price is in excess of \$100 per share, in which case the tax shall be 2 cents on each \$10 or fraction thereof of the selling price; and

"On and after December 1, 1923, on each \$100 or fraction thereof of face value, 2 cents, unless the selling price is in excess of the face value, in which case the tax shall be 2 cents on each \$100 or fraction thereof of the selling price. In case of shares without face value the tax shall be 2 cents on each share, unless the selling price is in excess of \$100 per share, in which case the tax shall be 2 cents on each \$100 or fraction thereof of the selling price.

"The tax shall apply (a) whether the sale, agreement, memorandum, or transfer is made upon or shown by the books, or by any indorsement, or by any assignment in blank, or by any delivery, or by any paper or agreement or memorandum or other evidence of transfer or sale; and (b) whether or not it entitles the holder in any manner to the benefit of such bond, stock, profits, interest, or right.

"The tax shall not apply to transfers pursuant to a sale, where the memorandum of sale has been duly stamped.

"The tax shall not apply to an agreement evidencing a deposit of certificates or bonds as collateral security for money loaned thereon, which certificates or bonds are not actually sold, nor to the delivery or transfer for such purpose of certificates or bonds so deposited.

"The tax shall not apply to deliveries or transfers (a) to a broker for sale, or (b) by a broker to a customer for whom and upon whose order he has purchased the certificates or bonds, if such deliveries or transfers are accompanied by a certificate setting forth the facts.

"In case of sale where the evidence of transfer is shown only by the books the stamp shall be placed upon such books; and where the change of ownership is by transfer of the certificate or bond the stamp shall be placed upon the certificate or bond; and in case of an agreement to sell or where the transfer is by delivery of the certificate or bond assigned in blank the seller shall make and deliver to the buyer a bill or memorandum of sale, and shall affix the proper stamps thereto; and every such bill or memorandum of sale or agreement to sell shall show the date thereof, the name and address of the seller and buyer, the amount of the sale, and the transaction to which it refers.

"Whoever, with intent to evade the payment of the tax, violates any of the provisions of this subdivision or receives any certificate or bond, or any bill or memorandum required by this subdivision, without having the proper stamps affixed thereto, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than \$1,000, or be imprisoned not more than six months, or both."

##### PRODUCE EXCHANGE TAX.

SEC. 703. On and after December 1, 1920, subdivision 5 of Schedule A of Title XI of the revenue act of 1918 is amended to read as follows:

"5. Produce, sales of, on exchange: On each sale or agreement of sale of, or agreement to sell (not including so-called transferred or scratch sales), any products or merchandise at, or under the rules and usages of, any exchange, or board of trade, or other similar place, for future delivery, the tax shall be as follows:

"Between December 1, 1920, and November 30, 1923, both dates inclusive, for each \$10 or fraction thereof of the selling price of the products or merchandise covered by such sale or agreement, 2 cents; and

"On and after December 1, 1923, for each \$100 or fraction thereof of the selling price, 2 cents.



"In the case of every such sale or agreement the seller shall at the time make and deliver to the buyer a bill, memorandum, agreement, or other evidence of such sale or agreement, and shall affix thereto the proper stamps. Such bill, memorandum, agreement, or other evidence of such sale or agreement shall show the date thereof, the name and address of the seller and buyer, the amount of the sale, and the transaction to which it refers.

"The tax shall not apply in case of cash sales of products or merchandise for immediate or prompt delivery which in good faith are actually intended to be delivered.

"The tax shall not apply to the transfer to a clearing-house corporation of an agreement in respect to which the tax has been paid, if such transfer does not vest any beneficial interest in such corporation and is made for the sole purpose of enabling such corporation to adjust and balance the accounts of its members.

"Whoever, with intent to avoid payment of the tax, violates any of the provisions of this subdivision, or receives any bill, memorandum, agreement, or other evidence of sale or agreement, required by this subdivision, without having the proper stamps affixed thereto, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than \$1,000, or be imprisoned for not more than six months, or both."

#### REAL ESTATE TAX.

SEC. 704. Schedule A of Title XI of the revenue act of 1918 is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subdivision to read as follows:

"16. Receipts for payments on sales of real estate: On each receipt, issued between December 1, 1920, and November 30, 1923, both dates inclusive, evidencing any payment made during such period on account of any sale, or contract of sale of, or contract to sell, lands, tenements, or other realty, whenever made, 5 cents for each \$10 or fraction thereof of the amount of the payment.

"Any person who receives, between December 1, 1920, and November 30, 1923, both dates inclusive, any payment, whether in cash or in anything of value, on account of a sale, or contract of sale of, or contract to sell, any lands, tenements, or other realty, shall at the time give to the person making such payment a written receipt evidencing such payment and shall affix thereto the proper stamps. Such receipt shall show the date thereof, the name and address of the person giving it, the date and amount of the payment, the name and address of the person making the payment, and the transaction on account of which the payment is made.

"Whoever fails to give any receipt required by this subdivision, or to state therein correctly the amount received, or to affix the proper stamps, or whoever receives any receipt required by this subdivision without having the proper stamps affixed thereto, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be fined not more than \$1,000, or be imprisoned not more than six months, or both."

#### TAX ON CIGARS, TOBACCO, AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF.

SEC. 705. (a) On cigars, cigarettes, tobacco, and snuff, manufactured in or imported into the United States, and sold between December 1, 1920, and November 30, 1923, both dates inclusive, by the manufacturer or importer, or removed during such period for consumption or sale, there shall be levied, collected, and paid, under the provisions of existing law, in addition to the taxes now imposed thereon by law, the following taxes to be paid by the manufacturer or importer thereof:

On cigars of all descriptions made of tobacco, or any substitute therefor, and weighing not more than 3 pounds per thousand, 25 cents per thousand.

On cigars made of tobacco, or any substitute therefor, and weighing more than 3 pounds per thousand, if manufactured or imported to retail at not more than 5 cents each, 50 cents per thousand;

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 5 cents each, and not more than 8 cents each, \$1 per thousand;

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 8 cents each, and not more than 15 cents each, \$1.50 per thousand;

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 15 cents each, and not more than 20 cents each, \$2 per thousand; and

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 20 cents each, \$2 per thousand.

On cigarettes made of tobacco, or any substitute therefor, and weighing not more than 3 pounds per thousand, \$1 per thousand; and

Weighting more than 3 pounds per thousand, 80 cents per thousand; and

On tobacco and snuff, 2 cents per pound.

(b) The taxes imposed by this section shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid on the same basis, in the same manner, and subject to the same provisions of law, including penalties, as the taxes imposed by sections 700 and 701 of the revenue act of 1918.

SEC. 706. Title X of the revenue act of 1918 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 1010. That every corporation shall pay a special excise tax with respect to all dividends declared and paid by it in its own stock or shares on or after March 15, 1920, equivalent to \$10 for each \$100 of the par or face value or fraction thereof. If the dividends so declared are issued without par or face value, the tax shall be computed at the rate of \$10 per share, unless the actual market value is in excess of \$100 per share, in which case the tax shall be computed at the rate of \$10 on each \$100 of such actual value or fraction thereof.

"(a) On or before 60 days after this section takes effect every corporation liable for any tax imposed by this section for the period from March 15, 1920, to and including June 30, 1920, and (b) on July 1, 1921, and thereafter on July 1 in each year, every corporation liable for any tax imposed by this section for the preceding year ending June 30 shall make a return under oath in duplicate and pay the taxes imposed by such section to the collector for the district in which is located the principal place of business. Such returns shall contain such information and be made at such times and in such manner as the commissioner, with the approval of the Secretary, may by regulations prescribe.

"The tax shall, without assessment by the commissioner or notice from the collector, be due and payable to the collector at the time so fixed for filing the return. If the tax is not paid when due, there shall be added as part of the tax a penalty of 5 per cent, together with interest at the rate of 1 per cent for each full month from the time when the tax became due."

#### TITLE VIII.—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

SEC. 801. The officers and boards having charge of the administration of any of the provisions of this act are authorized to appoint such officers, employees, and agents, in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, and to make such expenditures for rent, furniture, office equipment, printing, binding, telegrams, telephone, law books, books

of reference, stationery, motor-propelled vehicles or trucks used for official purposes, traveling expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence at not exceeding \$4 for officers, agents, and other employees, for the purchase of reports and materials for publications, and for other contingent and miscellaneous expenses, as may be necessary efficiently to execute the purposes of this act and as may be provided for by the Congress from time to time. With the exception of such special experts as may be found necessary for the conduct of the work, all such appointments shall be made subject to the civil-service laws, and preference shall, so far as practicable, be given to veterans.

SEC. 802. If any provision of this act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the act and of the application of such provision to other persons and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 803. Whoever knowingly makes any false or fraudulent statement of a material fact in any application, certificate, or document made under the provisions of Titles I, II, III, IV, V, or VI, or of any regulation made under any such titles, shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$1,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 804. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amount as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

During the reading of the bill the following occurred:

MR. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the Clerk read the bill in full.

THE SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill in full.

THE CLERK resumed the reading of the bill.

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as there is to be practically no debate on this bill I am going to insist that the bill be read in full from now on.

THE SPEAKER. The Chair supposed it was being so read.

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. No, sir; it is not.

THE SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill in full.

THE CLERK resumed the reading of the bill.

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the House is not in order. I can not tell whether the bill is being read or not. If no one else is paying attention to it, I desire to do so. This is the first time I have had an opportunity to read it.

MR. FREAR. I think the gentleman ought to have an opportunity; he is a member of the committee—

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. But I am a Democrat, and as such was excluded from the room.

MR. FREAR. I believe the gentleman ought to have an opportunity of hearing it. I exactly agree with him.

THE SPEAKER. The House will be in order, and the Clerk will read.

THE CLERK resumed the reading of the bill.

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, the House is in so much confusion that I can not hear. This bill makes a charge of \$5,000,000,000, and I want to hear it, if that is the only thing that I can do about it.

THE SPEAKER. The House will be in order.

THE CLERK resumed and concluded the reading of the bill.

THE SPEAKER. Is there a second demanded?

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

MR. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

THE SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is the ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means—is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. I am opposed to the bill in its present form. If I can not amend it, I am going to vote for it.

MR. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the bill, and I understand the gentleman says he is going to vote for it—

THE SPEAKER. Is there anybody—

MR. GARNER. Mr. Speaker—

THE SPEAKER. Is the gentleman from Texas opposed to the bill?

MR. GARNER. I am opposed to the bill, and I expect to vote against it.

THE SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

MR. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

MR. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second may be considered as ordered.

THE SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that a second may be considered as ordered.

MR. MANN of Illinois. I object.

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I think we ought to have a second by tellers, and I object.

THE SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the gentleman from Michigan and the gentleman from Texas as tellers.

The question was taken; and the tellers (MR. FORDNEY and MR. GARNER) reported that there were—ayes 175, noes 91.

So a second was ordered.

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker—

THE SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

MR. HENRY T. RAINEY. I want to see if I can prevail upon my colleague upon the committee and the other Republicans in the House, inasmuch as this bill imposes a tremendous drain

on the Treasury, to agree to a longer time than the rule provides. [Cries of "Regular order!"] I ask unanimous consent that we have an hour on a side.

Mr. FOSTER and Mr. LAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that we have 30 minutes on a side for debate.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that we have 25 minutes on a side.

Mr. FOSTER. I object.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I ask unanimous consent that we have 21 minutes.

Mr. FOSTER. I object.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes—

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that we have 21 minutes on a side to debate this question.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I understand the gentleman from Texas wants to make a statement.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I just want to say for the information of the House, since I control the time, I believe, in opposition to the bill, there seems to be about equally divided opposition on each side of the House, and therefore I am going to yield— [Cries of "Regular order!"] I do not see any impropriety in making that statement so that gentlemen may know.

Mr. KNUTSON. It is incorrect; the roll call shows it is incorrect.

Mr. GARNER. I desire to yield one-half of my time to the gentleman from Massachusetts, the ranking Republican on the committee [Mr. TREADWAY]. I merely wanted to make that statement for the information of the House.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Swope]. [Applause.]

Mr. SWOPE. Mr. Speaker, some time ago a few Members of this House said that the soldiers did not want this legislation and that if they did want it they would say so. Well, the answer to that challenge was that American Legion posts and other soldier organizations from coast to coast adopted resolutions indorsing this legislation and went so far as to send their delegations to Washington to appear before the Ways and Means Committee asking for this legislation. Last fall the First Division was reviewed here in this city and most of the Members of this House shouted themselves hoarse cheering those boys as they passed, but did you know that those boys sent their petition to this very Congress signed by their whole division of about 18,000, asking for the very things this bill proposes to give them? I know from personal experience and contact with my own men that they want it. The enlisted men never did feel like the pay was adequate. As a company commander it was my duty to pay off my men each month, and it was actually pitiful to see scores of men receive only \$5 or \$6 for their month's service after their insurance and one or more allotments, such as class A and class B, had been deducted.

And yet during all that time the slackers and profiteers were becoming rich, and the cab drivers, the hod carriers, the ditch diggers, the section hands, and all other kinds of unskilled labor were making three or four times as much every day as the American soldiers who worked, fought, bled, or died, wherever duty called or Old Glory waved. During that time we saw legislation for better wages and strikes for better wages, but the faithful old American soldier never struck for better wages—he struck for victory and at the throat of the enemy.

This Congress and the one preceding it voted a \$240 bonus to Federal employees who were already getting three or four times as much pay per day as the soldiers, and about two weeks ago a civil retirement bill was passed which retires on pensions Government employees, most of whom never did a day's military service. And now our soldiers, after they have successfully helped to win this great war, come and ask that their pay be increased \$1 a day for domestic service and \$1.25 for foreign service. As a matter of fairness, gentlemen, they are entitled to it, and this Congress should not refuse it. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. SINNOTT].

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, Kipling, in his poem on the survivors of the Battle of Balaklava, said:

"There were thirty million English that  
talked of England's might;  
There were twenty broken troopers  
that lacked a bed for the night;  
They had neither food nor money, they  
had neither service nor trade,  
They were only shiftless soldiers, the  
last of the Light Brigade.

"They felt that life was fleeting; they  
knew that art was long,  
That though they were dying of famine  
they lived in deathless song;  
They asked for a little money to keep  
the wolf from the door,  
And the thirty million English sent  
twenty pounds and four!"

We might suggest an American version:

There were one hundred million Yankees  
that talked of Yankee might

[Applause.]

And sent but sixty dollars  
to the boys that fought their fight;  
Yes; sixty dollars; that and nothing more,  
If that's to be in history America's low score—

Then—

"God of our fathers, known of old,  
Lord of our far-flung battle line,  
Beneath whose awful hand we hold  
Dominion over palm and pine;  
Lord God of Hosts be with us yet,  
Lest we forget—lest we forget."

[Loud applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY].

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON].

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I have been a soldier myself and my natural impulses are all favorable to the soldier. I have favored legislation for his benefit and expect to favor hereafter legislation that will be of more real benefit to the soldier than any contained in this bill.

The passage of this bill at this time is a futile thing. It is so admitted by its most ardent supporters. It is not expected that it will pass the other body at this session of Congress, and it can not pass if we are to adjourn next week, as it seems to be expected we shall do.

Mr. CRAMTON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TILSON. Having only three minutes, I can not yield to anyone.

The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON], who is recognized as one of the leading advocates of this legislation, describes the bill in such terms as ought to defeat it here to-day. He said, in substance, as an excuse for passing the bill in its present shape now that next December we can change it. In other words, he admits that this bill is bad now, but when December comes we can make its bad features good. If that is what he proposes on behalf of the service men, why not wait until December, when we in this House may have an opportunity to consider the entire matter on its merits? Who has given a single valid reason why the House should pass this bill at this time if it is to repose in a Senate committee until December? Can it be true that it must be rushed through now in order to catch the soldier vote at the approaching election? I have lived and served with soldiers and think I know something of their habits of thought. In my judgment they can not be fooled so easily.

The tax features of this bill are in many ways unsatisfactory. However, as the taxpayers seem to have but few friends here, it will be useless for me to use a single moment of my precious time in explanation of the taxation title of the bill.

The cash feature of this bill is bad and ought to go out. It is, in effect—and it can not be denied—a little pension, amounting to about \$16 a month beginning more than a year from now and continuing for two and one-half years at the maximum, bringing the last payment up to January 1, 1924. That is all it is, and that is all that anyone can make out of it. Is that going to be satisfactory to the soldier? Not if I know the soldier, and I think I do.

The bill is also unfair to the long-service men. If we attempt to adjust compensation, should we pay the same to a man who has been in the service 500 days as we do to a member of the Yankee Division, for instance, who served 800 days? Is that "adjusted compensation"? Is that fair?

The soldiers themselves will be most of all dissatisfied when they discover that in passing this bill we bring them no present relief. In passing it now to take effect more than a year hence we are guilty of attempting to play what is substantially a "bunco" game upon those toward whom we should feel the highest respect, honor, and gratitude. If we pass this bill as it



is written, we shall place ourselves in the position described by Macbeth in Shakespeare's immortal tragedy as those—

That keep the word of promise to our ear,  
And break it to our hope.

This describes what we are going to do to the veterans of the Great War if we pass this bill and it should become a law in the form in which it is proposed to pass it here to-day. I refuse to be a party to any such confidence game. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield four minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, there were over 600,000 men discharged for mental and physical disability that we are caring for, and the expense is increasing and will continue to increase. Then there are the dependents of the hundred thousand men, in round numbers, who died in France. Uncle Sam is to care for them as long as they live, and he is to care for the stricken soldiers until they are returned to health.

We have had many drives with which to sell bonds. The maid that worked in the kitchen, the man that labored in the field, everybody, subscribed to those bonds, and we saw many men who said, before the people subscribed, "Uncle Sam is the best and most able to pay of anybody in the world, and every bond you subscribe for is worth a hundred cents on the dollar." There were certificates galore.

We owe \$25,000,000,000. We let the Allies have \$10,000,000,000, and they are not paying interest, and can not for years to come. What is the result? Uncle Sam's credit is decreasing and is becoming less and less valuable, and is reflected in the high cost of living.

I have received more protests against this from the men who represent the dependents than I have requests from men that are said to desire bonuses, and if I had leave I would insert them in the RECORD. I will put in the RECORD a telegram just received, if there is no objection. [After a pause.] I hear none, Mr. Speaker. [Laughter.]

The telegram is as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., May 28, 1920.

Hon. JOSEPH G. CANNON,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

As State chairman of committee for aid to disabled veterans I respectfully ask that consideration of bonus legislation for all ex-service men be deferred until adequate provision has been made for those disabled, whose numbers total over 600,000. Am an ex-service man myself and believe my views represent attitude of considerable percentage of men who served in late war.

W. M. RUTTER.

Oh, you say, "We have got to have this or we can not be renominated or reelected." I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but I am against this bonus bill in the shape it is in, and for the men who came back sound and healthy I am against any bonus bill now. I shall be dead 50 years before a service bill shall have been enacted by law, such as was given under the leadership of my colleague from Illinois [Mr. FULLER] with respect to the soldiers of the Civil War. This is equivalent to a pension bill.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. CANNON. May I have just one minute more? [Cries of "Go ahead!"]

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield, Mr. Speaker, to the gentleman half a minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for half a minute more.

Mr. CANNON. I want to say it and say it with all the force that I can: From my acquaintance with the ordinary man—and I am an ordinary man, and I have trod every path that any poor boy has trod in the country—I want to say to you that I know the mass of the people in the Middle West and the sentiment there, and I want to say to my colleagues that they will reject the insult that you place upon them in passing this bill. [Applause.]

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Sisson].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. Sisson. Mr. Speaker, it is impossible, of course, to discuss this bill in two minutes. You Republicans are offering this bill as a campaign document, and you know it. In the campaign you will send out this bill and will pretend that it is the best bill that you can get. This is not true and you know it. When he gets this bill the soldier will find that when he asked you for bread you Republicans gave him a stone. He is asking for fish and you are giving him a serpent.

This bill does not go into operation until over 12 months from to-day. Every soldier will be disappointed when he looks at this sham. You can not get his vote that way.

When this bill was under consideration in the Committee on Ways and Means there was a \$600 bonus in the bill. Members of that committee of the Democratic faith offered an amendment that would take the money necessary to pay that bonus from the war profiteers, and you Republicans declined to do that. These profiteers contribute the millions to your campaign fund and you Republicans will not tax them. You first reported a bill here carrying a consumption tax, taxing the wants and the needs and the necessities and the nakedness of the people, and your own side would not stand for it and you withdrew that bill. Why? Because you knew that we Democrats would offer an amendment to tax the rich war profiteers and enough Republicans would join in to amend it. Now you are presenting this sham. You know you are presenting the American soldier a gold brick, and they are going to find it out, and the demagogue can go on the stump and demagogue there as the demagogue demagogues here, but you can not get anywhere with this sort of a bill. I believe I really would insult your intelligence if I said that I thought a single one of you believed that this bill in its present form will ever become a law. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, a Republican House has put this gorgeously decorated decoy tantalizingly in front of the soldier, but a Republican Senate safely holds a string, and at the psychological moment it will be pulled. Those who designed this measure had no intention that it should ever become a law, and so they are fixing its taxing features in such a way that it is hoped the pinch and sting of them would not be felt until after the election and might be forgotten before another one.

Mr. Speaker, I have had letters from both enlisted men and officers opposing the cash bonus feature of this bill.

Here is a letter from an enlisted man:

I left the management of a big rolling mill in my State and entered the Army as an enlisted man, and remained one up to the time of my discharge; and, looking at it strictly from the standpoint of salary, I lost money, but I had the very great pleasure of knowing I was giving something that money couldn't buy, and something in the way of a service lots of people haven't had the fortune to render the United States.

So far as I am advised, only one American Legion post in my district took any action with reference to the bonus, but I want to read to you what it said. It is the James A. Edmond Post, of McLennan County, the largest and most populous county in my district. I read from the Waco News-Tribune:

The post unanimously adopted a resolution brought by J. D. Willis that the post go on record as opposed to the granting of any bonus by Congress to any able-bodied ex-service man.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I refuse to be a party to this scheme to deceive the soldiers, hastily cooked up, hastily passed under a suspension of the rules, in the closing days of the session, that can not be amended, and conceived purely for political purposes in the forthcoming election. I should like to give full expression to my views but my limited time prevents. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HUMPHREYS].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. Mr. Speaker, I served for eight years under a Republican House, and I served for eight years under a Democratic House, and I believe I can truthfully say this has been the most hypocritical performance I have ever witnessed. [Applause.]

It is not the intention of anybody that this law shall be written upon the statute books, because we know it can not be. You have had an opportunity for a year to pass it if you really wanted to pass it, but that is not the purpose. The purpose is to pass it through the House and go out this summer and tell the boys, "Well, we voted for a bonus," and then wink the other eye at the other fellow who is opposed to it. [Laughter and applause.]

The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], the chairman of the great Committee on Rules, for 12 long months had the authority to bring into this House a bonus bill when it was pos-

sible to pass it and put it upon the statute books; but lo and behold, he waits until the very closing hour of the session. When the play is over and the curtain is just about to fall, the gentleman rushes upon the stage, his classic countenance aglow with patriotic ardor and passion for the soldier, and says, "Hold up, Mr. Speaker; do not adjourn." Another John Paul Jones has appeared upon the scene who waits until the ship is sinking before he begins to fight. [Laughter and applause and cries of "Vote!"]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this bill for three principal reasons. First, it contains a so-called cash bonus; second, it makes no special provision for the disabled, the wounded, the sick, the widows and orphans of the dead; third, it offers an unfair tax provision.

The first reason is my strongest one for disapproval. When this bill was first proposed it was called a bonus bill. That title of itself was so objectionable that it then became known as an adjusted-compensation bill. Neither title did other than insult the soldiers. My title for this bill would rather be a bill debasing patriotic service to commercial value. [Applause.] That is what it is; nothing else. You insult the soldier if you put it on a commercial basis, and say that he should only receive \$1 more than the man who works in the shop. If there is any equalization, it should be at the rate of not less than \$5 per day in the service. It does absolutely nothing extra for the sick or the wounded. Those are the ones, and their widows and children, the ones whose husbands and fathers lie buried on foreign soil, in whose behalf the taxpayers of this country stand ready to-day to go the limit. You can camouflage the tax argument in any way you wish. You can say that this form of taxation is most easily raised. It may be, but, nevertheless, it comes back upon the American people. They will pay this billion and a half of dollars. They are the ones who are to-day clamoring for less taxation. We here to-day are giving them more taxation. Is that the answer you make to the American people? [Applause.]

Mr. GARNER. Let me ask the gentleman from Michigan how many speeches he has on that side? There are only two more on this side, and I have only four minutes left.

Mr. FORDNEY. I will use some of my time. I yield one minute to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. EVANS].

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I am for a bonus for the soldiers. I am for this particular bill because I can not get any other bill. I voted for the rule. I voted to table the appeal from the ruling of the Speaker for the purpose of getting something before this House.

Here is a bill of 45 pages that nobody has read, a bill that takes a billion and a half of money from the American people; brought in under a rule that allows only 40 minutes' debate, the equivalent of six seconds to each Member on this floor, a rule that forbids amendment; not an "i" can be dotted or a "t" crossed. This bill in its present form must be passed or the whole question of a soldiers' bonus must go into the discard. Mr. Speaker, not in the history of a legislative body in the world was there ever such a display of fraud, sham, and hypocrisy as has been exhibited in this matter. It was never the intention to pass this or any other bonus bill; it is, not the intention to pass it now. If the political party in control of this House was acting in good faith in this matter, this or some other bill would have been brought here in the regular way, open for debate, open for amendment, change, and perfection. Ah, the majority party leaders say, "The rules of the House would not let us bring it up that way" or "The parliamentary situation is such that it would be killed." What sham, what fraud, what hypocrisy. What buncombe you are trying to feed the American people. What do they care about your rules? What do they know or care about your parliamentary situation. They did not send us here to make gag rules or to create complex parliamentary situations. They sent us here to legislate for the welfare of the country. Who made these sacred rules that you say bind us hand and foot? Did they come down from heaven—were they written by Moses on a tablet of stone, to be obeyed and observed through all the ages?

This House made the rules and it can change them or annul them. If the political majority can not do it the numerical majority can and should do it. Is the steering committee or the Rules Committee so all powerful that they can bind and gag 435 men in this House? What a fake, what a joke, to try thus to impose on the people of the Nation. The Members of this Congress may be gullible enough to believe such a thing, but not the people of the country. The chairman of the Rules Committee says if the matter were opened for debate and amendment the opponents would defeat the measure. They might defeat this iniquitous thing you have laid before us, but I deny

that they would defeat a genuine bonus bill; they would amend and change this bandy-legged hybrid sired by the steering committee and born of the Rules Committee; but they would support any bill that does justice to the soldier and the taxpayer. The distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee charges that the Democrats are hiding behind a barrage and demands that they come out. Mr. Speaker, when the final vote is taken, even under these gagged conditions and for this undigested measure, I venture the proportion of Democrats supporting this bill will be as large as Republicans. There are individual Democrats against any bonus legislation, just as there are individual Republicans, but I deny that a majority of either party is against a reasonable, just, and equitable bill. With those gentlemen who openly oppose a bonus I have no quarrel, but I have only contempt for the petty political pettifoggery that has been and is now being carried on by a lot of men who are publicly pretending to do something for the soldiers, when in truth they are playing a bunco game to get the soldiers' votes. It is not that they want to do something for the soldiers; they want the soldiers to do something for them. I have not the slightest doubt, Mr. Speaker, that 60 to 70 per cent of the membership of this House in each party desire and would vote for a genuine and just bonus bill if given the opportunity.

The difference between the political parties as to how to raise the money to pay such a bonus is fundamental and irreconcilable. The Democratic Party believes the money should be raised by a tax on war profits, on excess profits, on stock dividends, a system of taxes that will make the profiteers who both during the war and since have made unconscionable profits out of the American people, and who still continue to bleed the masses white, contribute a part of these profits to pay this bonus. The Democrats further believe should such a tax be laid the great American people might be relieved of the humiliating spectacle now taking place in this country of the Presidency of the United States being sold on the auction block to the highest bidder like the useless and discarded throne of the Kaiser. [Applause.] A half million dollars contributed by one multimillionaire, who says he is willing to advance as much more as necessary to nominate his favorite. What a spectacle!

Emboldened by success in the recent purchase of a seat in the Senate, they now brazenly go out to buy the Presidency. No, no; the Proctors and the profiteers must be protected by the Republican Party. Where else can they look for the purchase price of the Presidency but to them? Your party first proposed a sales tax on all consumption, hoping to get the money from the bare backs and empty bellies of the people, but be it said to the credit of a minority of your own party in this House, who joined with the Democrats, that infamous proposal was driven into outer darkness. Defeated in that nefarious proposal, you now present this measure and exclaim in mock righteousness that the Democrats are opposed to a bonus bill. You purpose to go before the country this fall and tell the people how this hybrid was born of patriotic fervor and love for the soldier, when in fact you know it is a sham and a fraud, gotten up for purposes of deception. Your first thought is to get the votes of these soldiers, and your second thought is to protect your profiteering millionaire friends that they may in turn furnish the campaign funds to get other votes. [Applause.]

Instead of declaring in mock heroic tones that the Democratic Party is opposed to a bonus bill, let the Republican steering committee and the Republican Rules Committee come out of their dugout, where, shielded by a smoke screen, they have already stupefied and paralyzed this House with poison gas. [Applause.] Their dictatorship, for the time being at least, has reduced this Congress to absolute impotency.

I want to say that I think the situation in this House is absolutely reprehensible. I think it is an outrage upon the American Congress and the American people that the situation has become such that 435 men in this House are nothing more nor less than so many eunuchs in the harem presided over by those exalted sultans—the steering committee and the Rules Committee of this House. [Applause and laughter.] I want a genuine bonus bill. I will vote for this bill because I can not get anything else. [Applause and laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. LANGLEY].

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, my sympathies always go out to the under man in the battle of human life. There were a good many millionaires made as a result of this war. To say nothing of the hundred thousand dead who sleep across the ocean, there were many thousand human frames that were mangled and shattered, many hearts broken and many that are still bleeding as a result of this World War, and many who are



still suffering for lack of the help of those who were the victims of that awful struggle. I have the highest regard for the men whose frugality, industry, and fortunate investments acquired enough of this world's goods to make them and their dependents comfortable and happy, but I believe that these should aid in binding up the wounds and soothing the sufferings of those who made these sacrifices in order that property rights and the liberties of our people might be perpetuated, and I can not believe that there is a patriotic citizen in Kentucky who is unwilling to do something to help our soldier boys in starting life anew and getting on their feet again. We can never fully repay them for what they did, but I am going to vote for this bill, not because it does as much for them as they deserve but because it is a step in the right direction and the best that we can do under existing conditions. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROBSION].

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, there has been allowed only 20 minutes for debate altogether for those in favor of this bill. I thank Mr. FORDNEY, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, for the courtesy in granting to me a little time to say a few words in behalf of the World War soldiers and sailors. I introduced a bill something like a year ago granting relief to these soldiers and sailors. This bill does not give quite as much as my bill provided, but feeling that this is the best bill that we can get under all the circumstances I wish to say that I propose to vote for it and do all I can to secure its passage in this body and in the Senate. Who are in favor of this adjusted pay for the American soldiers and sailors? The American Legion, the World War Veterans, private soldiers and sailors' organization, the Welfare Association, a large percentage of the common people, and a big majority of the membership of this House. Who are against it? Practically every one of the 23,000 men who were made millionaires during the war and because of the war, the Tobacco Trust, the Beef Trust, the Oil Trust, the Steel Trust, the Sugar Trust, practically every big trust and interest of the country, the war profiteers, the fellows who had the cost-plus contracts and made hundreds of millions during the war, Wall Street—they are all against it. The big newspapers of the country, representing the big interests of the country, are denouncing the American soldiers and sailors as "looters of the Treasury" and "mercenary patriots." The most of the money provided for this relief will have to be paid by the big interests and men who made billions out of the war. They are kicking because of the taxes they will have to pay. This will not hurt but will benefit the common people of the country.

#### THEIR CLAIM IS JUST.

I favor this relief legislation, because I believe it is just and right. But for the wonderful courage, patriotism, and self-sacrifice of the World War heroes we would be paying forty times as much "bonus" to the Huns. We took these boys away from their business, their profession, their homes, and their native land and put them into the water and mud of the trenches and the dangers and perils of battle at \$30 per month. They paid \$7 per month for insurance, and many of them made an allotment of \$15 per month, and they were left with about \$8 per month. They could have made at home from four to fifteen dollars per day. Some men and concerns who are kicking against this bonus made \$10,000 per day. The Government paid the same character of men in building camps, and so forth, under the cost-plus plan from six to fifteen dollars per day, and a Democratic Congress voted to the highly paid clerks and other employees of the Government who were sitting on easy chairs with short hours and receiving from one thousand to twenty-five hundred dollars per year a bonus of \$240 a year. They have been receiving this for two years—\$480. This is more than the soldiers will average with the bonus. We called the boys. They went forth and saved our homes and all of these big interests and protected these men and their big interests, while they were making billions of dollars. Now, I am in favor of conscripting some of these war profiteers' dollars in order that the American soldier may receive at least half what he would have received as a common laborer in this country during the war. [Applause.] When I hear the big rich newspapers, the big war profiteers, the big war contractors, and the men and concerns who were made millionaires out of the war denounce the men who saved this country at less than \$1 per day as "looters of the Treasury" and "mercenary patriots" I am filled with indignation. I plead for justice and a square deal and nothing more for them. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one minute to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, for one I shall vote for this bill with a glad heart and a clear conscience. I shall vote for

it without any misgivings as to the results which will follow its enactment into law. I shall vote for it as a matter of justice to our former service men. I shall vote for it because it represents an effort on the part of Congress to give recognition to the men who fought and won our battles in the great World War, and I shall vote for it because I believe it will strengthen our Nation, contribute to the perpetuity of our free institutions, and add glory to the flag which our soldier boys carried to victory. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. GOODYKOONTZ].

Mr. GOODYKOONTZ. Mr. Speaker, I am for this bill without reservation or secret evasion of mind.

In the spring and summer of the year of our Lord 1917, in the hamlets, villages, and cities of this broad land, the soldiers were being mustered in, leaving home, going to the war. The bands were playing and the local orators were haranguing the boys, telling them what great fellows they were. These orators, with eyes turned to heaven and swimming in tears, said, "Boys, when you come back, there will be nothing too good for you. Everything is yours. We will stand by you through thick and thin."

Well, the boys sailed away, and when the war was over we found 50,000 of them were killed in battle, 50,000 more had died of disease, 100,000 additional were wounded and maimed. Many of them must suffer for life, and now, when we bring up this little bill, we find the profiteer trying to escape with the swag, moaning and groaning, and telling us that the bill is bad.

While I am trying to speak the Members of the minority, largely from the South, are trying to drown my voice because they think that the colored soldier will take something under the bill.

In America, "the land of the free, the home of the brave," all stand equal. All, irrespective of race or religion, are equals. No stockbroker or profiteer has a halter about my neck. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this bill because I believe in justice to the soldier, and this bill will become a law unless it is vetoed by a Democratic President. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, it had long been my hope that real, substantial justice might be done the soldier at a time when it would do him the most good, and that still further than doing justice, the Nation might show, in at least a small degree, its appreciation of the soldier and his work. But it takes but a brief period of service here to be brought to a keen realization that no one Member can find his personal views and desires woven into the law of the land. Conflicting opinions and judgments must be reconciled and adjusted if we are to progress at all. This measure represents the best that can come out of the existing mass of varying and in some cases positively adverse and opposite views. I for one am not satisfied as to amounts, the enumeration of excepted classes, nor all forms of taxation by which the necessary funds are to be raised. Some of the sources are all right.

It is my idea that every form of war profits possible to be taxed should be taxed. Our only limit in this direction should be the legality of the taxing power. Thousands of fortunes have been made out of the profits of this war and the foundations of thousands more laid, every one of which came from the excessive gains and advantages on war contracts. I am not in favor of abolishing the rights of property of any man, but I am in favor of taking through the medium of taxation such portion of these ill-gotten gains wrung from the American people in the exigencies of war as will be sufficient to meet legitimate Government expenses. The dark pages of this war, which serve to dim the glory of the bright ones, are those which tell us of the fortunes built up during the period of the war. These profiteers who grew rich out of the Nation's stress, who took advantage of the world-wide struggle, should now be forced to the bar of justice to see what portion of their gains was right and what portion was wrong.

Every soldier who went to war returned a poorer man than when he left; everyone who stayed at home and took advantage of the high wages was better off at the close of the war than he was at the beginning. Every man with a war contract counts his profits by the millions and thousands, where in peace he counted them in dollars and cents.

Is it fair, between man and man, that the soldier, in addition to the personal hazards of war, should be made to suffer financially by reason of his service? Everybody but the soldier grew fat and financially comfortable.

We have compensated most every man who had a claim against the Government. Completed as well as incomplete contracts were liquidated; even the rushing, pushing fellow with the "informal" contract has been paid—everybody except the soldier who fired the guns and stopped the bullets.

We all know no nation can pay its soldiers full compensation for the risk of war; no nation ever did or ever will. The nation's battles must be fought by its patriotic men, who jump into the field prompted by the high call of duty. We can not pay in full even those who returned without wound or scar, but we can show our gratitude by a kindly, practical act; we can do by him a small degree of justice. I only wish the amount was more. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL].

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I voted for war. I voted for the selective draft. I saw thousands of young men, making up the manhood of America, leave our shores to go to France to fight to uphold that which we maintained must be upheld regardless of expense, namely, the freedom of the seas. Later on I saw these same boys in battle upon the other side. I had been probably the only Member of the House of Representatives who had actually seen and been on board one of the first ships which left our country to carry America's best to the other side. That was two months after we had declared war. Later, I saw thousands of other men who had either volunteered or answered the call of duty under the selective-draft law leave our shores. In Europe I saw how our boys in many instances made the supreme sacrifice, and my eyes will never forget those terrible scenes of men wounded, others crippled, and others being buried.

There are some people here whose sole and underlying thought while the war was on was the accumulation of wealth. Many of their next of kin found soft places at home. On the other hand, there were sons of great men who gave to the Nation all that they had when the war was on. Many voices were raised urging our people to buy Liberty bonds, encouraging patriotism, and arousing others to herculean efforts to help win the war. Upon the lips of men one could hear the constant cry that when the boys came back there would be nothing too good for them.

Others who went through the struggle and came back found that many of their pals, friends, and relatives who had not answered the call, or who for some reason or another had been permitted to continue work in factories and shipbuilding yards, had grown fat with prosperity, while the veteran had given even his life for a dollar a day.

Our brave boys entered the service with only one thought—that was to give their lives to save the Republic. Solemn as their duty was and fully recognizing that they might not return, they showed courageous faces when saying good-by to their next of kin. They felt that surely while they were in the dug-outs of France those who were being left in America would be prepared to make sacrifices, the same as they were making.

Upon their return home what did they, our brave boys, find? They discovered that the cost of living had been permitted to rise beyond comparison; that every tax which had been laid upon a manufacturer, middleman, and retailer had been passed on to their next of kin, with an additional profit. They beheld, also, that nobody at home had had any other thought, apparently, except to see how much money could be had from the Treasury of the United States.

No wonder, then, their amazement grew into wrath! They felt that they were the only ones who had given their most to the Republic.

In addition, the Government failed lamentably in taking care of the wounded, the crippled, and the maimed. Its lack of efficiency in paying allotments had become a public scandal. All of those things made the ex-soldiers feel that they had been unjustly treated.

Not every veteran will apply for the adjusted compensation. Each man must determine this question for himself. I do not believe that this is the fairest bill either to the veteran or to the taxpayer. No one likes to pay taxes. Our method of taxation has never done justice and never will. Our methods of taxation were failures during the war, as we can readily see by the 33,000 millionaires that the war created.

I am firmly of the opinion, and I say so advisedly, that the attempt made through this legislation to satisfy in some small degree the men who are the mainstay of our country will be a very small cost compared to the feeling of dissatisfaction which the failure to enact it is bound to cause.

Let some of those who are opposing this legislation answer the question as to whether they themselves would have made the sacrifices upon the fields of France in the face of the most terrible conditions and under the grave hardships which our

men underwent, and ask themselves whether they do not believe that those men are getting a small recompense compared to what men got who remained here. They did not fail us in the time when we needed them, and we must not fail them now. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. STRONG].

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the question that the Members of this House will be called on to decide to-day by their votes is whether or not the men who went into the service and fought for this Nation's flag are worth less per day than the men who stayed at home. This Congress drafted the young men of this country, set their salary at \$30 per month, and sent them to fight its battles, and then paid out of the Treasury to the men who were not drafted from \$3 to \$10 a day. [Applause.] I will vote to pay additional compensation to the men who fought for us at \$1 per day. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BAER].

Mr. BAER. Mr. Speaker, the only question that can be raised in regard to this measure is whether the service of wealth is worth more than the service of a human being. Congress voted for \$3,000,000,000 for the illegal and informal contracts made during the war, and I think it is just as much of importance that we should give the soldier a fair compensation. You gave a bonus to wealth; that side (Democratic side) of the House brought in the bill and I voted for it. Thirty-six billion dollars was the cost of war, and \$18,000,000,000 went to make millionaires, 50 cents out of every dollar we spent. Can we not now tax these millionaires and give the soldiers extra pay?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, how many speeches does the gentleman from Michigan have remaining?

Mr. FORDNEY. I have three more speeches.

Mr. GARNER. I yield three minutes, Mr. Speaker, to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN].

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, there is not a Member in this House, in my opinion, who would not like and be very much gratified to vote for a bill that would in some way help all the service men. We have in the past taken care of the crippled, the maimed, and the disabled, and the dependents of those who died. But if I were to vote for this bill to-day I would be joining in the greatest act of hypocrisy that the Congress of the United States has ever perpetrated. They say that this is to rehabilitate the soldier. You start with the payment of this money 24 months after the soldier has been discharged from the Army, and then you insult him by paying him a paltry sum of 50 cents a day, and string it out over two years.

I want to say to you gentlemen of the South that this 50 cents a day to a man who was not disabled will not be appreciated by him and will not help him, but will keep the cheap labor of the South—the colored labor—out of the fields, and you are not doing anything that the white soldier, uncrippled and unmaimed, in all the Southland will appreciate. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield half a minute to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HAYS].

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I shall limit my remarks to saying that I am for this bill because, in some measure, it seeks to do justice to the American soldier. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR].

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, if the soldiers whom we sent to war to serve their country, to do or to die for that country, could witness the spectacle we have had here within the last half hour, I warrant you that their votes would not return a large part of the membership that we find in this House to-day. Your shouts of ridicule at other speakers do you no credit.

You have refused to give men a chance to talk for the soldier boys—men who favor this bill. Who are you that dare do that? Who sent the boys over the seas to war? You did; and a heavy responsibility is yours to-day. Gentlemen, these interruptions do not add dignity to the occasion nor to your own credit. [Applause.] We have worked in the Ways and Means Committee three months to get out the best bill that could be prepared. It is the best bill we could get and is a good measure that deserves your support. The American Legion asks for this bill. They have examined its fourfold provisions since reported by our committee and they are satisfied with it. They know it is the only bill they can get through at this session and they want it. We ask you to give it to them. The distinguished chairman of this committee [Mr. FORDNEY] has worked in season and out of season, patiently and patriotically, for many weeks to prepare this



bill; and, notwithstanding his wealth, with his heart as big as a barrel, he is willing to sacrifice his share for these boys. [Applause.] Do not let us be outdone by him, but let every man follow his example and put through this soldiers' compensation bill. Remember, we have provided a tax on those best able to pay to cover the allowance made these soldiers.

We are not giving the boys compensation. We can not compensate them for the loss of jobs, the loss of school and business plans, the loss of prospects in life, the hundreds of thousands of broken families, men who lost what money can not buy. We know that. We can not compensate them if we took all the money earned by the war profiteers and multiplied it ten times over. No amount of money could compensate for the loss of our American boys who lie buried, 100,000 of them, from far-away Archangel and all over Europe to the Pacific coast of our own country. But we can stand together, Republicans and Democrats, and let us do it on this measure. Let there be no line between us now in politics. These are your boys as well as ours, and we are trying to give them some slight recognition for their sacrifices during the war. One dollar a day in this country or a dollar and a quarter a day across seas is not compensation, but it is an expression of our gratitude for those who fought your battles and mine.

Do you not remember when we patted our boys on the back as they marched away and how we wished them Godspeed when they sailed for France? When they covered themselves with glory at Chateau-Thierry and in the Argonne and all along the battle line, when they threw back the best Prussian troops that the world had ever known, we gloried in their victories. They destroyed a world's military despotism. They did their work well and they came back, leaving thousands of their comrades buried in France—they came back, and after serving for \$30 a month throughout the war, protecting your property from demands of German indemnity through winning the war, this little offering is proposed for them. We know it is not compensation, but it is the best we can offer. It is what they will and should accept, not as a matter of sympathy or gift but as a matter of simple justice.

We ask you who represent the great American people at this time, you who speak the heart of that people, you who represent the people of this the richest country in the world—a country that is able to pay and is grateful—we ask you to give these boys that to which they are entitled, not as a gratuity but as a slight acknowledgment of our debt. We wish we could give many times more, but it is the best measure we can agree upon and it expresses our gratitude. Let us all unite and pass this bill unanimously. Do not make a joke of this matter any longer, as many of you have attempted to do. Speakers have complained it is not enough to give. In nearly every case they have opposed any amount heretofore. If in the future you want to do more, you can do more; but now let us, as Members of this great House, act ungrudgingly. Let us all unite together and pass this bill. [Applause.]

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HENRY T. RAINY]. [Applause on Democratic side.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINY. Mr. Speaker, during the illness of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] I am the ranking Democratic Member on the Ways and Means Committee, and I am allowed two minutes in which to close this debate—a debate which involves a charge on the Treasury of \$5,000,000,000 at the very least—the greatest taxing bill in the history of nations. This debate has been a farce in this House—a farce which only Republicans and Republican steering committees are capable of staging.

This is a service pension, as my colleague from Illinois has stated. Talk about giving the soldiers a dollar and a quarter a day or a dollar and a half a day, as they have demanded, in cash. This is what you give them: You give those who accept the cash option a service pension, commencing one year one month and two days from this date. Those who served the longest in the war will get 55 cents a day for two years and six months. Over 2,400,000 men served less than 210 days. Deduct 60 days from that service, as this bill requires, and that leaves 150 days. You give to these men for two years and a half, commencing a year from this day, 15 cents a day. Five hundred thousand of these men will get, if they accept the cash option, commencing with July 1, 1920, 7 cents a day. They will get enough money, if they buy the cheapest kind of cigarettes, to buy three cigarettes a day. That is Republican generosity for you.

This is not our baby. It is yours. You can not lay it on our doorstep. This is a gold brick that you are handing the

soldiers. The Democrats have not helped to make this bill, and you know it, except the section that taxes stock dividends, and we put that in. This is a gold brick—a gold brick which will be passed upon in the elections which are about to ensue. You know the Senate is not going to pass this bill. You know it is not going to become a law. In order to keep them from leaving this baby on our doorstep and to show up the hypocrisy of the Republican Party, I ask every Democrat who conscientiously can do so to vote for this bill you can not defend in the approaching national campaign—that job belongs to the Republican Party. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINY. Mr. Speaker, I have a request to propose: I ask unanimous consent that my time be extended for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that his time be extended for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. MURPHY (and others). I object.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINY. All of the objections are from the Republican side.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINY. Mr. Speaker, I have another request that I desire to propose; I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MURPHY (and others). Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINY. I note that every objection is on the Republican side.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] is recognized for four minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I am glad to see that so many gentlemen of the House seem to be in favor of this bill. To discredit this bill, one gentleman has said it does nothing for the wounded. He is mistaken. This bill benefits the wounded and the well alike, and is, in addition to other provisions of law, enacted for the special benefit of the disabled.

At the beginning of this war and during the time when our boys were going abroad, every man in this House accompanied some soldiers in his own home or in this city to the train, stepping to the beat of the drum and the blare of a horn, waving hats and flags and shouting, "Good-by, boys; remember we are with you as long as there is a button on your coat; give it to the enemy." That is what you said; and the boys did give the enemy a full measure and more. Let me read to you a little poem which in my opinion is timely. It is entitled "Backing up Bill."

There wan't many fellers went over th' sea,  
Along with Bill.  
Th' "Dutch," they laughed, ez they seen 'em come,  
With the blare uv bugle an' tap uv drum,  
They kinda fergot, though th' men wuz few—  
They carried th' ole Red, White, and Blue,  
An' where it waves there's follerin' still,  
Ten million men t' back up Bill.

Th' President said, ez they sailed away,  
"Hold 'em, Bill!"  
Git out in front, where th' fightin's hot  
Show 'em th' kind uv men we got.  
Th' food is coming, an' ships an' guns—  
You'll need 'em all t' beat th' Huns.  
I haven't fergot—an' I never will—  
Th' promise I made t' back up Bill.

Oh, how soon some of us forget.

You and I voted for \$40,000,000 for bonuses to Government clerks who receive pay up to \$2,500 per year for seven hours and fifteen minutes work a day in a cushioned chair. Are we consistent if we vote against this bill?

Did the boys who went abroad go for their own defense alone? No. They went "over there" to defend you and me from the enemy's bullets.

They went "over there" to defend your property and my property, and they did it well, and they came back with honor, honor never more deserved by any men who ever fought on any battle field. [Applause.] Can you now decline to come forward and pay a little something to those poor fellows who suffered everything? I believe not. My secretary served 368 days overseas in a combat division that participated in four major operations. In his year of service over there they were 158 days in action. They were in places for weeks at a time where the only available water was unfit to drink. There were numerous days when demolished roads and confusion prevented the bringing up of food. Often the only sleep they had was the sleep of exhaustion. For them the days were days of horror and the nights

were nights of dread. They did this for us. What can we do for them? [Applause.] Can you now, when the boys come home and find their bank account depleted, refuse to vote them this small measure of compensation when your neighbor who remained at home received from five to ten, fifteen, and twenty dollars a day working in munition factories and in the shipyards. Many of these soldier boys when mustered out did not have enough money to buy a suit of civilian clothes. Who is there within the sound of my voice or in this land of peace and plenty who can refuse to vote to give this small portion of the great wealth that the people accumulated through the sacrifices and at the expense of those boys? [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Michigan to suspend the rules and pass the bill.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 289, nays 92, not voting 46, as follows:

## YEAS—289.

Almon	Fairfield	Lee, Ga.	Robinson, N. C.
Anderson	Ferris	Leshar	Robison, Ky.
Andrews, Md.	Fields	Linthicum	Rodenberg
Andrews, Nebr.	Fisher	Little	Romjue
Anthony	Focht	Loneragan	Rose
Ashbrook	Fordney	Longworth	Rouse
Aswell	Foster	Luhling	Rubey
Ayres	Frear	McAndrews	Sabath
Babka	French	McArthur	Sanders, Ind.
Bacharach	Fuller, Ill.	McClintic	Sanders, La.
Baer	Gallagher	McCulloch	Sanders, N. Y.
Bankhead	Gallivan	McGlennon	Schall
Barbour	Gandy	McKenzie	Scott
Barkley	Ganly	McKeown	Sells
Begg	Gard	McKinley	Siegel
Bell	Garland	McKinley	Sims
Benham	Godwin, N. C.	McLane	Sinclair
Benson	Goldfogle	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sinnott
Bland, Ind.	Goodwin, Ark.	McLaughlin, Nebr.	Slemp
Bland, Mo.	Goodykoontz	McPherson	Smith, Idaho
Blanton	Graham, Ill.	MacCrate	Smith, Ill.
Boies	Green, Iowa	MacGregor	Smith, Mich.
Bowers	Greene, Mass.	Madden	Smith, N. Y.
Brand	Griest	Maher	Stegall
Briggs	Griffin	Major	Stedman
Britten	Hadley	Mapes	Steenerson
Brooks, Ill.	Hamill	Mays	Stephens, Ohio
Brooks, Pa.	Hamilton	Mead	Stiness
Browne	Hardy, Colo.	Michener	Strong, Kans.
Brumbaugh	Harrel	Miller	Strong, Pa.
Burdick	Harrison	Milligan	Summers, Wash.
Burke	Haugen	Minahan, N. J.	Sweet
Byrns, Tenn.	Hawley	Monahan, Wis.	Swope
Caldwell	Hays	Mondell	Tague
Campbell, Kans.	Hersey	Mooney	Taylor, Ark.
Candler	Hickey	Moore, Ohio	Taylor, Colo.
Caraway	Hill	Morgan	Taylor, Tenn.
Carew	Hoch	Morin	Thomas
Cars	Hoey	Mott	Thompson
Casey	Howard	Mudd	Timberlake
Chindblom	Huddleston	Murphy	Tincher
Christopherson	Hudspeth	Neely	Towner
Clark, Mo.	Hull, Iowa	Nelson, Mo.	Upshaw
Classon	Hull, Tenn.	Nelson, Wis.	Vaile
Cooper	Hutchinson	Newton, Mo.	Vare
Copley	Igoe	Nolan	Vestal
Cramton	Ireland	O'Connell	Vinson
Crisp	Jacoway	O'Connor	Voigt
Crowther	James	Ogden	Volstead
Cullen	Jeffers	Oldfield	Walters
Currie, Mich.	Johnson, Ky.	Olney	Watkins
Darrow	Johnson, S. Dak.	Osborne	Watson
Davey	Johnson, Wash.	Palge	Weaver
Davis, Minn.	Jones, Pa.	Phelan	Webster
Davis, Tenn.	Juul	Porter	Welling
Dempsey	Kearns	Pou	Welty
Denison	Keller	Purnell	Wheeler
Dickinson, Mo.	Kelley, Mich.	Quin	White, Kans.
Dickinson, Iowa	Kelly, Pa.	Radcliffe	White, Me.
Donovan	Kennedy, R. I.	Rainey, Ala.	Williams
Dooling	Kless	Rainey, H. T.	Wilson, Ill.
Doughton	Klinchloe	Rainey, J. W.	Wilson, La.
Dowell	Kling	Raker	Wilson, Pa.
Dunbar	Klinkaid	Ramseyer	Wingo
Dunn	Klecza	Randall, Calif.	Wise
Dyer	Knutson	Randall, Wis.	Wood, Ind.
Eagan	Kraus	Reavis	Woodyard
Echols	Kreider	Reber	Wright
Elliott	Lampert	Reed, N. Y.	Yates
Emerson	Langley	Reed, W. Va.	Zihlman
Esch	Larsen	Ricketts	
Evans, Mont.	Layton	Riddick	
Evans, Nebr.	Lazaro	Riordan	

## NAYS—92.

Ackerman	Cannon	Dupré	Hardy, Tex.
Ree	Coary	Eagle	Hersman
Black	Collier	Fess	Hicks
Blackmon	Connally	Flood	Holland
Bland, Va.	Crago	Freeman	Humphreys
Blox	Dallinger	Fuller, Mass.	Husted
Buchanan	Dent	Garner	Johnson, Miss.
Burroughs	Dewalt	Garrett	Johnston, N. Y.
Butler	Dominick	Glynn	Jones, Tex.
Byrnes, S. C.	Doremus	Good	Kahn
Campbell, Pa.	Drewry	Greene, Vt.	Lanham

Lea, Calif.	Moon	Ramsey	Temple
Leibach	Moore, Va.	Rayburn	Tilson
Luce	Moore, Ind.	Rogers	Tinkham
Lufkin	Newton, Minn.	Rowe	Treadway
McDuffie	Oliver	Sanford	Venable
McFadden	Overstreet	Sisson	Walsh
Magee	Padgett	Snell	Ward
Mann, Ill.	Parker	Steele	Wason
Mann, S. C.	Parkish	Stephens, Miss.	Whaley
Martin	Pell	Stevenson	Winslow
Merritt	Peters	Stoll	Woods, Va.
Montague	Platt	Sumners, Tex.	Young, Tex.

## NOT VOTING—46.

Booher	Ellsworth	Kendall	Scully
Brinson	Elston	Kennedy, Iowa	Sears
Cantrill	Evans, Nev.	Kettner	Sherwood
Carter	Goodall	Kitchin	Shreve
Clark, Fla.	Gould	Lankford	Small
Cleary	Graham, Pa.	Mansfield	Smithwick
Cole	Hastings	Mason	Snyder
Costello	Hayden	Nicholls	Sullivan
Curry, Calif.	Heflin	Park	Tillman
Dale	Hernandez	Rhodes	Young, N. Dak.
Drane	Houghton	Rowan	
Edmonds	Hulings	Rucker	

So, two-thirds having voted in favor thereof, the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. KENDALL and Mr. HULINGS (for) with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania (against).

Mr. RHODES and Mr. TILLMAN (for) with Mr. GOULD (against).

Mr. DALE and Mr. CURRY of California (for) with Mr. KITCHIN (against).

Mr. DRANE and Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota (for) with Mr. EDMONDS (against).

Mr. BRINSON and Mr. EVANS of Nevada (for) with Mr. HOUGHTON (against).

Mr. SHREVE and Mr. SHERWOOD (for) with Mr. GOODALL (against).

Mr. HAYDEN and Mr. SCULLY (for) with Mr. ROWAN (against).

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, my colleague Mr. RHODES is absent on official business. If he were here, he would vote for this bill.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York, Mr. GOULD, was called away on account of serious illness in his family. If he were here, he would vote against the bill.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, my colleague Mr. CANTRILL is away in Kentucky. He desires me to state that if he were here he would vote "aye."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE and Mr. BAER rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from New York rise?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Mr. Speaker, I was about to ask whether or not my colleague Mr. SULLIVAN had voted, but in the confusion that ensued I could not find out.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman did not vote.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I desire to say that he is necessarily detained, and that if he were here he would have voted "aye."

## BRIDGE ACROSS RED RIVER OF THE NORTH, PEMBINA, N. DAK.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill S. 4411, and ask that it be passed.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Dakota asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table—

Mr. GARD. What is it about?

Mr. BAER. A permit for a bridge.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table a bill, S. 4411, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 4411) granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Pembina, N. Dak., and Kittson, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North at or near the city of Pembina, N. Dak.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. I would like to have the bill reported.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 4411) granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Pembina, N. Dak., and Kittson, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North at or near the city of Pembina, N. Dak.

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the counties of Pembina, N. Dak., and Kittson, Minn., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Red River of the North at a point suitable to the interests of navigation at or near the city of Pembina, N. Dak., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?



Mr. SISSON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, let me ask my friend a question. I could not hear the reading of the bill. Is this bridge bill in the regular form? And has it been approved by the War Department?

Mr. BAER. Yes; and the bill has passed the Senate and has been reported out by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that a part of this bridge is to be built in my district, and it is very urgent.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is the bill on the House Calendar?

Mr. STEENERSON. Yes.

Mr. BAER. The bill is on the House Calendar.

Mr. GARD. When was it put there?

Mr. BAER. I made a motion day before yesterday to have it put on there. The material for this bridge—the steel and everything—is on the ground.

Mr. GARD. I am not objecting to the bill. I wanted to understand the parliamentary status, as to whether the gentleman is entitled to bring it up or not.

Mr. BAER. By unanimous consent I can bring it up. It is on the calendar.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill S. 4411. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Reserving the right to object—and I shall not object, of course—I would like to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The House having by rule adopted to-day set apart the next five days after this upon which motions to suspend the rules shall be in order, are not those five days Unanimous Consent Calendar days, and will not the regular order be the calling of the Unanimous Consent Calendar?

The SPEAKER. The Chair has not considered that question.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. The rule provides that on days when it shall be in order to suspend the rules the Speaker shall immediately after the approval of the Journal direct the Clerk to call the bills which have been for three days upon the Calendar for Unanimous Consent. Of course that does not interfere with conference reports, which are highly privileged under the rule. But is there any order of business which can take away the calling of the Unanimous Consent Calendar now except motions to suspend the rules? I will not ask the Chair to pass upon that question. I do not object.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will consider that.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. But that is the situation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BAER]? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was again reported.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. BAER, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed bills of the following titles:

H. R. 10072. An act to provide for the punishment of officers of the United States courts wrongfully converting moneys coming into their possession, and for other purposes;

H. R. 12626. An act for the relief of certain persons to whom, or their predecessors, patents were issued to public lands along the Snake River in the State of Idaho under an erroneous survey made in 1883; and

H. R. 14100. An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. RAMSEY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 3184. An act to create a Federal power commission; to provide for the improvement of navigation; the development of water power; the use of the public lands in relation thereto; and to repeal section 18 of the river and harbor appropriation act, approved August 8, 1917, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 400. An act authorizing the Sioux Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Dudley, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12775) to amend an act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2890) to provide for the allotment of lands of the Crow Tribe, for the distribution of tribal funds, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

H. J. Res. 336. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to the Albert Sidney Johnston Camp, United Confederate Veterans, No. 1820, Fort Worth, Tex., 100 cots and blankets for the use of Confederate veterans at the reunion of said camp June 24 to 27, inclusive, 1920;

H. R. 1309. An act for the relief of Perry L. Haynes; and

H. R. 7158. An act to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia.

#### NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill H. R. 9783, the budget bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa calls up the conference report on the budget bill, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Conference report on the bill (H. R. 9783) to provide a national budget system and an independent audit of Government accounts, and for other purposes.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the report be read, as it is about the same length as the statement and will give the Members a better idea of what is in the agreement.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the report.

The conference report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9783) to provide a national budget system and an independent audit of Government accounts, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert:

#### "TITLE I.—DEFINITIONS.

"SECTION 1. This act may be cited as the 'budget and accounting act, 1920.'

"SEC. 2. When used in this act—

"The terms 'department and establishment' and 'department or establishment' mean any executive department, independent commission, board, bureau, office, agency, or other establishment of the Government, including the municipal government of the District of Columbia, but do not include the legislative branch of the Government or the Supreme Court of the United States;

"The term 'the budget' means the budget required by section 201 to be transmitted to Congress;

"The term 'bureau' means the bureau of the budget;

"The term 'director' means the director of the bureau of the budget; and

"The term 'assistant director' means the assistant director of the bureau of the budget.

#### "TITLE II.—THE BUDGET.

"SEC. 201. The President shall transmit to Congress on the first day of each regular session the budget, which shall set forth in summary and in detail:

"(a) Estimates of the expenditures and appropriations necessary in his judgment for the support of the Government for the ensuing fiscal year; except that the estimates for such year for the legislative branch of the Government and the Supreme Court of the United States shall be transmitted to the President on or before October 15 of each year, and shall be included by him in the budget without revision;

"(b) His estimates of the receipts of the Government during the ensuing fiscal year, under (1) laws existing at the time the budget is transmitted and also (2) under the revenue proposals, if any, contained in the budget;

"(c) The expenditures and receipts of the Government during the last completed fiscal year;

"(d) Estimates of the expenditures and receipts of the Government during the fiscal year in progress;

"(e) The amount of annual, permanent, or other appropriations, including balances of appropriations for prior fiscal years, available for expenditure during the fiscal year in progress, as of November 1 of such year;

"(f) Balanced statements of (1) the condition of the Treasury at the end of the last completed fiscal year, (2) the estimated condition of the Treasury at the end of the fiscal year in progress, and (3) the estimated condition of the Treasury at the end of the ensuing fiscal year if the financial proposals contained in the budget are adopted;

"(g) All essential facts regarding the bonded and other indebtedness of the Government; and

"(h) Such other financial statements and data as in his opinion are necessary or desirable in order to make known in all practicable detail the financial condition of the Government.

"SEC. 202. (a) If the estimated receipts for the ensuing fiscal year contained in the budget, on the basis of laws existing at the time the budget is transmitted, plus the estimated amounts in the Treasury at the close of the fiscal year in progress, available for expenditure in the ensuing fiscal year, are less than the estimated expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year contained in the budget, the President in the budget shall make recommendations to Congress for new taxes, loans, or other appropriate action to meet the deficiency.

"(b) If the aggregate of such estimated receipts and such estimated amounts in the Treasury is greater than such estimated expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year, he shall make such recommendations as in his opinion the public interests require.

"SEC. 203. (a) The President from time to time may transmit to Congress supplemental or deficiency estimates for such appropriations or expenditures as in his judgment (1) are necessary on account of laws enacted after the transmission of the budget, or (2) are otherwise in the public interest. He shall accompany such estimates with a statement of the reasons therefor, including the reasons for their omission from the budget.

"(b) Whenever they reach an aggregate which, if they had been contained in the budget, would have required the President to make a recommendation under subdivision (a) of section 202, he shall thereupon make such recommendation as he may deem necessary.

"SEC. 204. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this act, the contents, order, and arrangement of the estimates of appropriations, and the statements of expenditures and estimated expenditures contained in the budget or transmitted under section 203, and the notes and other data submitted therewith, shall conform to the requirements of existing law.

"(b) Estimates for lump-sum appropriations contained in the budget or transmitted under section 203 shall be accompanied by statements showing, in such detail and form as may be necessary to inform Congress, the manner of expenditure of such appropriations and of the corresponding appropriations for the fiscal year in progress and the last completed fiscal year. Such statements shall be in lieu of statements of like character now required by law.

"SEC. 205. The President, in addition to the budget, shall transmit to Congress on the first Monday in December, 1921, for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, only, an alternative budget, which shall be prepared in such form and amounts and according to such system of classification and itemization as is, in his opinion, most appropriate, with such explanatory notes and tables as may be necessary to show where the various items embraced in the budget are contained in such alternative budget.

"SEC. 206. No estimate or request for an appropriation, and no request for an increase in an item of any such estimate or request, and no recommendation as to how the revenue needs of the Government should be met, shall be submitted to Congress or any committee thereof by any officer or employee of any department or establishment, unless at the request of either House of Congress.

"SEC. 207. There is created a bureau to be known as the bureau of the budget. There shall be in the bureau a director and an assistant director. The Secretary of the Treasury shall be the director, and the assistant director shall be appointed by the President. The assistant director shall receive an annual salary of \$10,000 and shall perform such duties as the President may designate. During the absence or incapacity of the director or during a vacancy in the office of director, the President shall designate the Acting Secretary of the Treasury or the assistant

director to act as director. The bureau, as may be directed by the President, shall prepare for him the budget, the alternative budget, and any supplemental or deficiency estimates, and to this end shall have authority to assemble, correlate, revise, reduce, or increase the estimates of the several departments or establishments.

"SEC. 208. (a) The director or assistant director, as may be determined by the President, shall appoint and fix the compensation of such attorneys and other employees and make such expenditures for rent in the District of Columbia, printing, binding, telegrams, telephone service, law books, books of reference, periodicals, stationery, furniture, office equipment, other supplies, and necessary expenses of the office as Congress may from time to time provide.

"(b) No person appointed by the director or assistant director shall be paid a salary at a rate in excess of \$5,000 a year, and not more than four persons so appointed shall be paid a salary at the rate of \$5,000 a year.

"(c) All employees in the bureau whose compensation is at a rate less than \$5,000 a year shall be appointed in accordance with the civil service laws and regulations.

"(d) The provisions of law prohibiting the transfer of employees of executive departments and independent establishments until after service of three years shall not apply during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, to the transfer of employees to the bureau.

"SEC. 209. The Bureau shall make a detailed study of the departments and establishments for the purpose of enabling the President to determine what changes (with a view of securing greater economy and efficiency in the conduct of the public service) should be made in (1) the existing organization, activities, and methods of business of such departments or establishments, (2) the appropriations therefor, (3) the assignment of particular activities to particular services, or (4) the regrouping of services. The results of such study shall be embodied in a report or reports to the President, who may transmit to Congress such report or reports, or any part thereof, with his recommendations on the matters covered thereby.

"SEC. 210. The bureau shall prepare for the President a codification of all laws or parts of laws relating to the preparation and transmission to Congress of receipts and expenditures of the Government and of estimates of appropriations. The President shall transmit the same to Congress on or before January 1, 1922, with a recommendation as to the changes which, in his opinion, should be made in such laws or parts of laws.

"SEC. 211. The powers and duties relating to the compiling of estimates, now conferred and imposed upon the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, are transferred to the bureau. The Secretary of the Treasury may transfer to the bureau, at the rate of compensation received by them when this act takes effect, any officers or employees of such division who, in his opinion, are essential to the work of the bureau. The positions thus vacated shall not be filled and the appropriations therefor for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, shall lapse.

"SEC. 212. The bureau shall, at the request of any committee of either House of Congress having jurisdiction over revenue or appropriations, furnish the committee such aid and information as it may request.

"SEC. 213. Under such regulations as the President may prescribe, (1) every department and establishment shall furnish to the bureau such information as the bureau may from time to time require, and (2) the director and the assistant director, or any employee of the bureau when duly authorized, shall, for the purpose of securing such information, have access to, and the right to examine any books, documents, papers, or records of any such department or establishment.

"SEC. 214. (a) The head of each department and establishment shall designate an official thereof as budget officer therefor, who, in each year under his direction and on or before a date fixed by him, shall prepare the departmental estimates.

"(b) Such budget officer shall also prepare, under the direction of the head of the department or establishment, such supplemental and deficiency estimates as may be required for its work.

"SEC. 215. The head of each department and establishment shall revise the departmental estimates and submit them to the bureau on or before September 15 of each year. In case of his failure so to do the President shall cause to be prepared such estimates and data as are necessary to enable him to include, in the budget, estimates and statements in respect to the work of such department or establishment.

"SEC. 216. The departmental estimates and any supplemental or deficiency estimates submitted to the bureau by the head of



any department or establishment, shall be prepared and submitted in such form, manner, and detail as the President may prescribe.

"Sec. 217. For expenses of the establishment and maintenance of the bureau there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$225,000, to continue available during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

"TITLE III.—GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE.

"Sec. 301. There is created an establishment of the Government to be known as the general accounting office, which shall be independent of the executive departments and under the control and direction of the comptroller general of the United States. The offices of Comptroller of the Treasury and Assistant Comptroller of the Treasury are abolished, to take effect July 1, 1920. All other officers and employees of the office of the Comptroller of the Treasury shall become officers and employees in the general accounting office at their grades and salaries on July 1, 1920, and all books, records, documents, papers, furniture, office equipment, and other property of the office of the Comptroller of the Treasury shall become the property of the general accounting office. The comptroller general is authorized to adopt a seal for the general accounting office.

"Sec. 302. There shall be in the general accounting office a comptroller general of the United States and an assistant comptroller general of the United States, who shall be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall receive salaries of \$10,000 and \$7,500 a year, respectively. The assistant comptroller general shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the comptroller general, and during the absence or incapacity of the comptroller general or during a vacancy in that office shall act as comptroller general.

"Sec. 303. The comptroller general and the assistant comptroller general shall hold office during good behavior, but may be removed at any time by concurrent resolution of Congress, after notice and hearing, when, in their judgment, the comptroller general or assistant comptroller general is incapacitated or inefficient, or has been guilty of neglect of duty, or of malfeasance in office, or of any felony or conduct involving moral turpitude, and for no other cause and in no other manner except by impeachment. Any comptroller general or assistant comptroller general removed in the manner herein provided shall be ineligible for appointment to either of such offices. When a comptroller general or assistant comptroller general attains the age of 70 years he shall be retired from his office.

"Sec. 304. All powers and duties now conferred or imposed by law upon the Comptroller of the Treasury or the six auditors of the Treasury Department, and the duties of the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury relating to keeping the personal ledger accounts of disbursing and collecting officers, shall, so far as not inconsistent with this act, be vested in and imposed upon the general accounting office and be exercised without direction from any other officer. The balances certified by the comptroller general shall be final and conclusive upon the executive branch of the Government. The revision by the comptroller general of settlements made by the six auditors shall be discontinued, except as to settlements made before July 1, 1920.

"Sec. 305. Section 236 of the Revised Statutes is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 236. All claims and demands whatever by the United States or against them, and all accounts whatever in which the United States are concerned, either as debtors or creditors, shall be settled and adjusted in the general accounting office."

"Sec. 306. All laws relating generally to the administration of the departments and establishments shall, so far as applicable, govern the general accounting office. Copies of any books, records, papers, or documents, and transcripts from the books and proceedings of the general accounting office, when certified under its seal, shall be admitted as evidence with the same effect as the copies and transcripts referred to in sections 882 and 886 of the Revised Statutes.

"Sec. 307. The comptroller general may provide for the payment of accounts or claims adjusted and settled in the general accounting office, through disbursing officers of the several departments and establishments, instead of by warrant.

"Sec. 308. The duties now appertaining to the Division of Public Monies of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury so far as they relate to the covering of revenues and repayments into the Treasury, the issue of duplicate checks and warrants, and the certification of outstanding liabilities for payment, shall be performed by the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury.

"Sec. 309. The comptroller general shall prescribe the forms, systems, and procedure for administrative appropriation and fund accounting in the several departments and establishments,

and for the administrative examination of fiscal officers' accounts and claims against the United States. He shall submit periodically to Congress reports upon the adequacy and effectiveness of the administrative examination of accounts and claims in the respective departments and establishments and upon the adequacy and effectiveness of departmental inspection of the offices and accounts of fiscal officers.

"Sec. 310. The offices of the six auditors shall be abolished, to take effect July 1, 1920, but the then incumbents of those offices shall be transferred, at their present salaries, to become officers of the general accounting office. All other officers and employees of these offices shall become officers and employees in the general accounting office at their grades and salaries on July 1, 1920. All books, records, documents, papers, furniture, office equipment, and other property of these offices, and of the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants, so far as they relate to the work of such division transferred by section 304, shall become the property of the general accounting office. The general accounting office shall occupy temporarily the rooms now occupied by the office of the Comptroller of the Treasury and the six auditors.

"Sec. 311. (a) The comptroller general shall appoint, remove, and fix the compensation of such attorneys and other employees in the general accounting office as may from time to time be provided for by Congress.

"(b) All such appointments, except to positions carrying a salary at a rate of more than \$5,000 a year, shall be made in accordance with the civil-service laws and regulations.

"(c) No person appointed by the comptroller general shall be paid a salary at a rate of more than \$6,000 a year, and not more than four persons shall be paid a salary at a rate of more than \$5,000 a year.

"(d) Until March 5, 1921, no person who at the time of the passage of this act holds office as one of the six auditors, and who in pursuance of section 310 is transferred to the general accounting office, shall be removed from office or have his compensation reduced, except for cause.

"(e) All officers and employees of the general accounting office, whether transferred thereto or appointed by the comptroller general, shall perform such duties as may be assigned to them by him.

"(f) All official acts performed by such officers or employees specially designated therefor by the comptroller general shall have the same force and effect as though performed by the comptroller general in person.

"(g) The comptroller general shall make such rules and regulations as may be necessary for carrying on the work of the general accounting office, including rules and regulations concerning the admission of attorneys to practice.

"Sec. 312. (a) The comptroller general shall investigate, at the seat of government or elsewhere, all matters relating to the receipt and disbursement of public funds and shall make to the President when requested by him, and to Congress at the beginning of each regular session, a report in writing of the work of the general accounting office, containing recommendations concerning the legislation he may deem necessary to facilitate the prompt and accurate rendition and settlement of accounts and concerning such other matters relating to the receipt and disbursement of public funds as he may think advisable. In such regular report, or in special reports at any time when Congress is in session, he shall make recommendations looking to greater economy or efficiency in public expenditures.

"(b) He shall make such investigations and reports as shall be ordered by either House of Congress or by any committee of either House having jurisdiction over revenue, appropriations, or expenditures. The comptroller general shall also, at the request of any such committee, direct assistants from his office to furnish the committee such aid and information as it may request.

"(c) The comptroller general shall specially report to Congress every expenditure or contract made by any department or establishment in any year in violation of law.

"Sec. 313. All departments and establishments shall furnish to the comptroller general such information regarding the powers, duties, activities, organization, financial transactions, and methods of business of their respective offices as he may from time to time require of them; and the comptroller general, or any of his assistants or employees when duly authorized by him, shall, for the purpose of securing such information, have access to and the right to examine any books, documents, papers, or records of any such department or establishment. The authority contained in this section shall not be applicable to expenditures made under the provisions of section 291 of the Revised Statutes.

"SEC. 314. The Civil Service Commission shall establish an eligible register for accountants for the general accounting office, and the examinations of applicants for entrance upon such register shall be based upon questions approved by the comptroller general.

"SEC. 315. (a) All appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, for the offices of the Comptroller of the Treasury and the six auditors are transferred to and made available for the general accounting office.

"(b) During such fiscal year the comptroller general, within the limit of the total appropriations available for the general accounting office, may make such changes in the number and compensation of officers and employees appointed by him or transferred to the general accounting office under this act as may be necessary.

"(c) There shall also be transferred to the general accounting office such portions of the appropriations for rent and contingent and miscellaneous expenses, including allotments for printing and binding, made for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, as are equal to the amounts expended from similar appropriations during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, by the Treasury Department for the offices of the Comptroller of the Treasury and the six auditors.

"(d) During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, the appropriations and portions of appropriations referred to in this section shall be available for salaries and expenses of the general accounting office, including payment for rent in the District of Columbia, traveling expenses, the purchase and exchange of law books, books of reference, and for all necessary miscellaneous and contingent expenses.

"SEC. 316. The general accounting office shall not be construed to be a bureau or office created since January 1, 1916, so as to deprive employees therein of the additional compensation allowed civilian employees under the provisions of section 6 of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, if otherwise entitled thereto.

"SEC. 317. The provisions of law prohibiting the transfer of employees of executive departments and independent establishments until after service of three years, shall not apply during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, to the transfer of employees to the general accounting office.

"SEC. 318. This act shall take effect July 1, 1920, but appointments to offices herein created may be made prior to that date, to take effect July 1, 1920."

And the Senate agree to the same.

JAMES W. GOOD,  
P. P. CAMPBELL,  
MARTIN B. MADDEN,  
JOSEPH W. BYENS,  
JNO. N. GARNER,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

MEDILL McCORMICK,  
REED SMOOT,  
HENRY W. KEYES,  
F. M. SIMMONS,  
ANDRIEUS A. JONES,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

#### STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9783) to provide a national budget system and independent audit of Government accounts, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference committee and submitted in the accompanying conference report:

The more important features of the bill, as agreed upon in conference, compared with the bill as passed by the House and as passed by the Senate, are as follows:

#### THE BUDGET.

It provides in section 201 that the President shall transmit the budget to Congress on the first day of each regular session and specifically defines and enumerates the contents of the budget. This enumeration of contents is in lieu of similar mandatory requirements, stated in more general terms in the House bill, and is more explicit than the requirements contained in the Senate bill.

It provides in section 202 that the President shall recommend to Congress new taxes, loans, or other appropriate action to meet the deficiency, if the budget shows a deficit, or, if it shows a surplus, he is required to make such recommendation as he believes the public interests require. This section is in lieu of corresponding matter contained in each bill but is more specific and definite than the corresponding matter in either of them.

It provides in section 203 that the President may transmit to Congress supplemental or deficiency estimates. This section is in practically the same terms as corresponding matter in both bills. A new paragraph, not in either bill, has been added to section 203, to the effect that if the aggregate or the supplemental or deficiency estimates at any time indicates a deficit, where none was shown in the budget, or increases the deficit shown by the budget, that the President shall make a recommendation to Congress for new loans, taxes, or other action to care for the estimated deficit or the estimated increase in the deficit.

It provides in section 204 that the contents, order, and arrangement of the estimates of appropriations and statements of expenditures and estimated expenditures and the data submitted therewith in the budget shall follow the requirements of existing law. This is in lieu of a similar requirement in the House bill. The Senate bill provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should by regulation prescribe a uniform method of preparing and submitting estimates of appropriations. This authority in the Senate bill superseded the principal existing statutes governing the contents, order, and arrangement of the Book of Estimates.

A new paragraph, not contained in either bill, provides that the present detailed notes of the manner of expenditure of estimates of lump-sum appropriations shall be superseded by similar notes of a more general and informative character. The new paragraph also requires the information in these notes to be furnished for the fiscal year in progress as well as for the ensuing fiscal year and the last completed fiscal year.

It provides in section 205 that the President shall transmit to Congress on the first Monday in December, 1921, and for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, only, an alternative budget prepared in such form and amounts and according to such system of classification and itemization as he may deem most appropriate. This section is in lieu of a similar requirement in the House bill, except that in that bill the alternative budget was required to be transmitted for the fiscal year 1922, only, and in the same amounts as the regular budget. The Senate bill did not provide for an alternative budget.

It provides in section 206 that no estimate or request for an appropriation and no request for an increase in any item of any such estimate or request, and no recommendation as to how the revenue needs of the Government should be met, shall be submitted to Congress or any committee thereof by any person in the executive branch of the Government except the President, unless upon the request of either House. This section is in lieu of a similar section in the House bill and a similar section in the Senate bill, except that the Senate bill provided that estimates of appropriations or recommendation for raising revenue could be submitted to Congress by any official or employee in the executive branch of the Government, upon request of any committee of either House having jurisdiction over appropriations or revenues.

It provides in section 207 for a bureau of the budget directly under the control of the President of the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury is made the director of the bureau. An assistant director is provided, to be appointed by the President, at a salary of \$10,000 a year, and to perform such duties as the President may designate. This part of the section conforms to corresponding matter in the House bill, except that the Secretary of the Treasury is made the director. The Senate bill established a bureau of the budget in the Treasury Department with a commissioner at \$10,000 a year and two assistant commissioners at \$7,500 each per year, all to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and for fixed terms of office.

It further provides in section 207 that the bureau, as may be directed by the President, shall prepare for him the budget, the alternative budget, and any supplemental or deficiency estimates, and to this end shall have authority to reduce, revise, and so forth, the estimates of the various governmental agencies. This section conforms to corresponding matter more generally stated in the House bill. The Senate bill required the budget to be arranged and compiled in the budget bureau in the Treasury Department, submitted to and revised by the Secretary of the Treasury, and by him submitted to the President for final revision before its transmission to Congress by the President.

It provides in section 208 for the appointment of employees of the bureau and for its expenses. The details of the section do not differ very materially from the details of corresponding portions of the House and Senate bills, except that employees in the bureau are to be appointed by the director or assistant director, as the President may determine, instead of by the commissioner of the budget bureau as provided in the Senate bill, and instead of by the director of the bureau of the budget,



with the approval of the President, as provided in the House bill. A new paragraph, not in either bill, provides that employees of other executive departments or independent establishments may be transferred during the fiscal year 1921 to the bureau notwithstanding the provision of existing law prohibiting such transfers until after three years of service in the department or establishment from which the transfer is proposed to be made.

It provides in section 209 that the bureau shall make a detailed study of the departments and establishments to enable the President to recommend to Congress what changes he believes should be made in the methods of business and organization of the executive branch in order to secure greater economy and efficiency in the public service. This authority in the House bill was covered in the general powers given the President to prepare the budget. The Senate bill imposed this character of duty upon the budget bureau in the Treasury Department, and required it to include the results of such study in the budget for the consideration of the Secretary of the Treasury and for recommendation thereon by him to the President.

It provides in section 210 that the bureau shall prepare for the President a codification of the laws relating to the preparation and transmission to Congress of estimates of appropriations and statements of receipts and expenditures, in order that he may recommend to Congress the changes he believes should be made in such laws. This section is similar to corresponding matter in both bills, except that the codification required by the Senate bill applied only to laws relating to expenditures.

It provides in section 211 for transferring from the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants of the Treasury Department to the bureau of the budget the duty of compiling estimates of appropriations and makes provision for the transfer of the employees engaged on that work. This provision was not incorporated in the House bill. The Senate bill provided for the transfer of those duties to the proposed budget bureau in the Treasury Department.

It provides in section 212 that the bureau shall, at the request of any committee of either House of Congress having jurisdiction over appropriations or revenue, furnish the committee such aid and information as it may request. This requirement was not specifically contained in the House bill. The corresponding requirement in the Senate bill did not limit the request to committees "having jurisdiction over appropriations or revenue."

It provides in section 213 that, under regulations prescribed by the President, all departments and establishments shall furnish the bureau such information as it may require, and authorizes the director and assistant director, or any employee, when duly authorized, to have access to the books and records of the departments and establishments for that purpose.

It provides in sections 214 and 215 for the preparation of the departmental estimates and their submission to the bureau of the budget on or before September 15 of each year. These sections, except for fixing a new date on or before which heads of departments must send in their estimates, are substantially a reenactment of the authority and duties existing under present laws. The House bill provides that such estimates should be submitted to the President on a date to be fixed by him instead of on or before October 15 of each year, as now required by law. The Senate bill provided that they should be submitted to the budget bureau in the Treasury Department on or before October 1 of each year; the budget bureau was required to send the budget to the Secretary of the Treasury on or before November 1 of each year; the Secretary of the Treasury was required to submit it to the President on or before November 20 of each year; and the President was required to submit it to Congress on or before December 10 of each year.

It provides in section 216 that the departmental estimates, including supplemental and deficiency estimates, shall be prepared in such form, manner, and detail as the President may prescribe. The House bill did not contain a corresponding section. The Senate bill gave similar authority to the Secretary of the Treasury.

It provides in section 217 for an appropriation of \$225,000 for the fiscal year 1921 for the establishment and maintenance of the bureau as provided for by the Senate bill.

#### GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE.

It provides in section 301 for the general accounting office, as designated by the Senate bill, instead of the accounting department, as designated by the House bill. The general accounting office is to be an establishment of the Government independent of the executive departments. The offices of Comptroller of the Treasury and Assistant Comptroller are abolished and all other officers and employees of the office of the Com-

troller of the Treasury and the records and property of that office are transferred to the general accounting office. This section is practically identical with similar sections in both the Senate and House bills.

It provides in section 302 for the creation of the office of comptroller general and assistant comptroller general at salaries of \$10,000 and \$7,500 a year, respectively. This section is practically identical with similar matter in the House bill and differs from the Senate bill, which provided for a comptroller general at \$10,000 and three assistant comptrollers general, two at \$7,500 each and one at \$5,000. Section 302 also provides that the assistant comptroller general shall perform such duties as may be assigned by the comptroller general, which corresponds to a similar provision in the House bill. The Senate bill prescribed specifically and in detail the duties which should be performed by each of the three assistant comptrollers general.

It provides in section 303 that the comptroller general and assistant comptroller general shall hold office during good behavior, but may be removed at any time by concurrent resolution of Congress for the causes enumerated in the House bill. Section 303 further provides that whenever either of them attains the age of 70 years he shall be retired from his office. This section practically is identical with similar matter in the House bill. The Senate bill provided a term of office of five years for the comptroller general and the assistant comptrollers general, with the provision that they should be removed only for cause.

It provides, in section 304, for the transfer to the general accounting office of the powers and duties now conferred or imposed by law on the Comptroller of the Treasury, the six auditors of the Treasury Department, and the duties of the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury relating to the keeping of personal ledger accounts of disbursing and collecting officers. Section 304 also provides that the balances certified by the comptroller general shall be conclusive upon the executive branch, and the revision by him of settlements made by the six auditors shall be continued, except as to settlements made before this act takes effect. This section is practically identical with a similar section in the House bill, with the exception of the transfer of the duties of the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants just referred to.

It provides, in section 305, for the settlement and adjustment of all claims and demands by the United States or against them, and all accounts in which the United States are concerned, in the general accounting office instead of in the Treasury Department. This section is identical with a similar provision in the House bill but was not contained in the Senate bill.

It provides, in section 306, that all laws relating generally to the administration of the departments and establishments so far as applicable shall govern the general accounting office and that copies of records, and so forth, of the accounting office when certified under its seal shall be admitted as evidence. This section was not contained in either the House or Senate bill.

It provides, in section 307, that the comptroller general may provide for the payment of accounts or claims settled in the general accounting office through disbursing officers of the departments or establishments instead of by warrant. This section was not contained in either the House or Senate bill.

It provides, in section 308, that the duties of the Division of Public Moneys of the Treasury Department, so far as they relate to the covering of revenues and repayments into the Treasury, the issue of duplicate checks and warrants, and certification of outstanding liabilities for payment, shall be performed by the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants of the Treasury Department. This section was not contained in the House bill. The duties enumerated in section 308 were proposed by the Senate bill to be transferred to the general accounting office.

It provides in section 309 that the comptroller general shall prescribe the forms and procedure for accounting in the departments and establishments and for the administrative examination of accounts and claims, and that he shall submit to Congress reports upon the effectiveness of the administrative examination of accounts and claims and upon the effectiveness of departmental inspection of the accounts of fiscal officers. This section was contained substantially in this form in the Senate bill and was not in the House bill.

It provides in section 310 for the abolishment of the offices of the six auditors of the Treasury Department and the transfer of those officers and their employees and records and other property to the general accounting office. This portion of the

section is identical with a similar section in both bills. Section 310 also provides for the transfer of employees and records of the division of bookkeeping and warrants in so far as they relate to the duties of that division which are transferred to the comptroller's office. This matter was contained in the Senate bill but not in the House bill.

It provides in section 311 for the appointment of employees by the comptroller general in practically the same manner as was provided in both bills. Section 311 further provides that all officers and employees in the accounting office shall perform such duties as may be prescribed by the comptroller general. It also provides that all official acts performed by such officers or employees specially designated therefor by the comptroller general shall have the same force as though he personally had performed such duties. This latter matter was not contained in the House or Senate bills. This section also provides that the comptroller general may make rules and regulations for carrying on the work of his office, including the admission of attorneys to practice. This matter was contained in both bills, with the exception of the part relating to the admission of attorneys to practice.

It provides in section 312 that the comptroller general shall investigate all matters relating to the receipt and disbursement of public funds and shall make to the President when requested by him and to Congress at the beginning of each regular session a report on the work of his office, containing recommendations for legislation to facilitate the settlement of accounts and other matters relating to the handling of public funds. He is also required in his regular report, or by special reports when Congress is in session, to make recommendations looking to greater economy or efficiency in public expenditures. He is also required to make investigations and reports ordered by either House of Congress or any committee of either House having jurisdiction over revenue, appropriations, or expenditures. This section is practically identical with similar sections in the House and Senate bills, with the exception that the House bill did not require him to make a report to the President and the Senate bill required him to make a report to the President on or before October 15 of each year.

It provides in section 313 that all departments and establishments shall furnish to the comptroller general such information regarding their duties, financial transactions, methods of business, and so forth, as he may require, and authorizes him or any of his assistants when authorized by him to have access to the records of departments or establishments for that purpose. The authority of the section is not applicable to the expenditures made under the emergency fund for the Diplomatic and Consular Service. This section is identical with a similar section of the Senate and House bills.

It provides in section 314 that the Civil Service Commission shall establish a civil-service register for accountants for the general accounting office and that examinations for such register shall be based upon questions approved by the comptroller general. This section is identical with similar sections in the House and Senate bills.

It provides in section 315 for the transfer of the appropriations for the fiscal year 1921 for the offices of the Comptroller of the Treasury Department and the six auditors and makes them available for the general accounting office, and it also authorizes the comptroller general within such appropriations to make such changes in the number and compensation of officers or employees as may be necessary. This section was not contained in either bill. The Senate bill carried an appropriation of \$150,000 for the general accounting office.

It provides in section 316 that the general accounting office shall not be considered as an office created since January 1, 1916, so as to deprive employees of that office of the additional compensation allowed by section 6 of the legislative act for the fiscal year 1921, if the employees are otherwise entitled to receive it. This section was not contained in either bill.

It provides in section 317 that employees of other executive departments or independent establishments may be transferred during the fiscal year 1921 to the general accounting office notwithstanding the provision of existing law prohibiting such transfers until after service of three years in the department from which the transfer is proposed to be made. This section was not contained in either bill.

It provides in section 318 that the act shall take effect July 1, 1920, but that appointments to the offices created in the act may be made prior to that date to take effect on July 1, 1920.

The bill as agreed upon does not contain four of the principal features of the Senate bill. The first provided for the establishment of a board of appeals in the general accounting office. The second provided for the transfer to the jurisdiction of Congress of the Bureau of Efficiency. The third provided for the transfer to the general accounting office of all of the duties of

the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants of the Treasury Department, except those duties relating to the compilation of estimates of appropriations. The fourth provided for the transfer to the accounting office of the duties of the Division of Public Moneys of the Treasury Department in so far as they relate to the covering of revenues and repayments into the Treasury, the issue of duplicate checks and warrants, and the certification of outstanding liabilities for payment.

JAMES W. GOOD,  
P. P. CAMPBELL,  
MARTIN B. MADDEN,  
JOSEPH W. BYRNS,  
JNO. N. GARNER,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, at this late hour I shall not long detain the House explaining the conference report. This is a unanimous report, and in submitting it the managers on the part of the House believe that they have provided in it a budget system that will not only meet the demands of the public but that will be found to be a workable law that will result in great economy. All of us realize, and for a long time have realized, the defects in the present law. We believe that these defects have been cured by this measure. We believe that we have in this report not only built upon the experience of other governments but have profited by our own experience.

The bill is a combination of the measure that passed the House last October and the Senate bill. In principle, however, it maintains the provisions of the House bill.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. Certainly.

Mr. GARNER. I am very glad that the gentleman from Iowa made that statement, since I see that a Member of another body has said that in all essentials it is the Senate bill. I want to agree here with the gentleman from Iowa that the essential provisions of this conference report embody the House provisions of the bill, regardless of what the statement may have been by some one else to the contrary.

May I ask the gentleman, while I am on my feet, so that I may not interrupt him again, whether, if this conference report is agreed to, it will be complete in all its details and arrangements and effectiveness unless we amend the rules of the House?

Mr. GOOD. I think, as a corollary to this measure, if we are to have real economy, if we are to appropriate with intelligence, we must have one policy as to appropriations and must maintain the budget in its form, at least, and to do that we must place the authority over appropriations in one committee and keep the budget in its entirety.

Now, what the gentleman from Texas has said with regard to the principles of the bill I agree with, and, after all, that is a naked statement, and only refutes the statement made in another body. Whether or not the bill as it is now reported is built on the principle found in the Senate bill or upon the principle laid down in the House bill will be determined not by what the gentleman from Texas may say, not by what I may say in that regard, or what somebody in another body may say, but upon a clear analysis of the provisions of the two bills.

Let us see what the chief underlying principles of the two bills are. The House bill provided that the budget should be the one submitted to the Congress by the President of the United States, and that he should have the machinery, if you please, to assist him in preparing that budget. That was the only budget referred to in the House bill. That budget would be the President's budget. The House bill gave him what was called a bureau of the budget of his own selection.

Now, the Senate bill was quite different from that. The Senate bill provided for the bureau of the budget, but it also provided that that bureau should be in the Treasury Department and that the budget bureau should be conducted by the Secretary of the Treasury; that the Secretary of the Treasury should go through the estimates of the various departments and independent establishments of the Government and revise them and correlate them or increase them, as he pleased, and on or before the 20th day of November of each year he should send his budget to the President. The President could then take it, revise it as he pleased, and on or before the 10th day of December should submit it to Congress with his revision.

The conferees' report starts with the proposition that at the beginning of each regular session of Congress the President shall submit to the Congress a budget, and then it provides that the budget shall be prepared, not by the Secretary of the Treasury but under the direction of the President of the United States. It creates the bureau of the budget, just as both House and Senate bills did. It provides that in the bureau of the budget, which is not located in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, there shall be a director and an



assistant director. This report provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall be the director of the bureau, and to that extent the House conferees yielded to the demand of the Senate.

It was strenuously urged that because of the intimate knowledge of the Secretary of the Treasury with regard to disbursements and receipts, the Secretary of the Treasury should be on the budget staff. The House committee felt that the House provisions were better in this regard, but in order to secure an agreement we saw no objection to placing the Secretary upon that bureau staff, so long as that bureau would perform only such work as the President directed and in the manner directed by the President. Even under the House bill the President could have appointed the Secretary of the Treasury to a position in the bureau of the budget.

Mr. MADDEN. And a provision of the bill as reported by the conferees directs the budget bureau to prepare the budget under the direction of the President?

Mr. GOOD. Yes; all the way through. We have been very careful to make the provision that the budget should be prepared as directed by the President, and that the bureau should act as directed by the President. It has no authority to act but in accordance with the President's will.

Mr. GARNER. We not only make the President responsible for the amount asked for to run the Government for the next fiscal year, but we give him the machinery by which he can ascertain any facts, regardless of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. GOOD. Absolutely.

Mr. GARNER. Because we direct that he may take either the Secretary of the Treasury, who is director of the budget bureau, or he may take the assistant, and direct him to perform the duties of the budget bureau.

Mr. GOOD. Exactly. The gentleman is entirely right about that.

Mr. HAUGEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. HAUGEN. In what respect does it change the responsibility of the President from the present plan? The President has responsibility now, and the budget bureau now is the Cabinet.

First the estimates are prepared by the bureau chiefs, and then they go to the Secretary and are revised by him, and then go back to the bureaus, and from the bureaus back to the Secretary, and from the Secretary to the Cabinet, and from the Cabinet to the President; and the present budget bureau is now the Cabinet. In what respect do you change the responsibility of the President?

Mr. GARNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. Certainly.

Mr. GARNER. Under existing law the President of the United States has absolutely nothing to do with it, except as he may direct his Cabinet. The estimates are sent by the Cabinet officers to the Secretary of the Treasury, and from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and transmitted to the various committees. Now, the President has absolutely no authority in the premises, and does not look over it, except as he may direct his Cabinet officers. Under this proposed arrangement we make him directly responsible. We make him send the budget to Congress.

Mr. HAUGEN. He has the responsibility under the Constitution. I do not know what the practice is.

Mr. GARNER. He has the responsibility now of directing his Cabinet; that is all.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. He has the responsibility, if he will obey the law.

Mr. HAUGEN. If he will obey the law, and we know what the law is and what his responsibility is.

Mr. GOOD. There is no such law on the statute books. There is a provision on the statute books which provides that when the estimates of expenditures exceed the estimates of revenue, then, and then only, shall the President reduce estimates or suggest new taxes. Now, even under that provision President Taft found that he could not enforce that provision of the law. Why? No President has ever tried to enforce that provision of the law, because, although Congress has said he shall do so-and-so, Congress has never given him the machinery by which he can do it in an intelligent way. President Taft attempted in, I think it was, 1911 or 1912 to reduce the estimates. He found that the estimates of expenditures exceeded the estimates of revenue, and he made a horizontal cut of 10 per cent. That penalized the bureau that was honest, that made an honest estimate and estimated just what its requirements would be, and it did not take from the dishonest bureau enough of its estimate to bring about anything like a just and equitable arrangement, and so the whole thing was found to be unworkable and was cast into the discard.

That was the nearest there ever was to an attempt to enforce the law.

Mr. HAUGEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. I yield for a question.

Mr. HAUGEN. Every department makes its estimates. Does the gentleman contend that the President is not responsible for the acts of the various members of his own family? The responsibility is upon the President and his own officers appointed by him. Each department submits its estimates. It is the duty of each department to submit the estimates, and the President is responsible for them. You add nothing and you detract nothing from the responsibility of the President.

Mr. GOOD. Oh, yes; we do.

Mr. HAUGEN. The whole thing is simply camouflage.

Mr. GOOD. The gentleman does not understand the English language if he does not see any difference between the provisions of the present law and the provisions found in this report. I believe the report is the greatest step forward we have taken for real economy in the United States in the last 50 years. I believe the report is founded upon principles that are absolutely correct and will meet the approval of 99 per cent of the taxpayers of the United States.

Mr. TINCHER. May I ask a question?

Mr. GOOD. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. TINCHER. If this becomes a law, with a President who is thoroughly familiar with budgets to enforce it, may we not look forward with some anticipation to improvements in our business conditions?

Mr. GOOD. I agree that, after all, no matter how perfect the law may be, it will not be self-executing. No matter how perfect we make the provisions of this law—and the committee reporting it believe it is a splendid piece of constructive legislation—no matter how perfect it may be if the President of the United States does not turn his attention, when he creates the bureau, to business considerations, there will be no substantial savings. If the President will not turn his attention to real economy; if he will not eliminate waste; if he shows no disposition to cut out the useless offices, to discontinue the unnecessary expenditures, then vain is any law we put on the statute books, so far as economy is concerned. Very much will depend on the enforcement of the law. Under the present law I do not care how economical the President may be, our laws are so archaic that the President, acting as he is compelled to act under the present statutes, can not enforce that degree of economy which the people of the United States have a right to expect.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BLANTON. If there has been a want of economy in the administration of affairs, the Government does not hold the President of the United States responsible.

Mr. GOOD. Not for everything.

Mr. BLANTON. Then they ought to stop cussing him.

Mr. GOOD. No matter how economical he may be, with these laws you can not enforce the degree of economy that the people of the United States are expecting.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. I will.

Mr. MADDEN. If the President performs his full duty under the provisions of the law now before us, and in addition to that the controller general performs his duty, it will have a salutary effect upon the expenditures of the Government, will it not?

Mr. GOOD. There is no question about that.

Mr. MADDEN. The responsibility placed on the controller general under this law will enable him to ascertain the wisdom as well as the legality of the expenditures, and permit him from time to time to report to Congress as to what economies ought to be effected by the executive branch of the Government, and in that way attention will be called to the laxness, if laxness there be, on the part of the President to enforce economy.

Mr. GOOD. Yes.

Mr. TINCHER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. I will.

Mr. TINCHER. Is not the only sensible way to get a President familiar with the budget law and the budget system to start with?

Mr. GOOD. We must have that, of course. I believe that both political parties in their conventions will give more attention to the selection of a business man than ever before, because we must have at the head of the Government, if we are to have real economy, a business man who will bring about real and genuine economy.

Mr. SABATH. I am wondering whom the gentleman has in mind when he says he must be familiar with the budget system?

Mr. GARD. Let me ask the gentleman, Is that a boom for Mr. Hoover?

Mr. GOOD. I do not care to go into personalities. I am not now thinking of individuals or parties. I believe that for the next 20 years the great question in the United States, the question that the people of the United States will be most interested in on election day, is going to be the question of domestic economy. [Applause.] We must have a man at the head of the Government, I do not care what his name is or to what political party he belongs, we must have a man with a high regard for the taxpayers of the United States and of the cost of living.

Mr. HAUGEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. Yes.

Mr. HAUGEN. The gentleman has given this matter a good deal of thought; I would like to ask him this question: Wherever the budget system has been tried out, has it resulted in economy, or has it resulted in more waste and expenditure?

Mr. GOOD. Wherever a real budget system has been tried out, whether in the business of a man or in the business of a corporation or in the business of a State, it has resulted in real economy in every instance, and wherever a man or a corporation or a municipality or a State has not had a budget system or a business working plan that concern has been headed for bankruptcy.

Mr. HAUGEN. What has been the result in the State of Illinois, and in England and in Germany and wherever they have had a budget system?

Mr. GOOD. The State of Illinois has a budget system and a good one.

Mr. HAUGEN. How about the \$30,000,000 increase?

Mr. GOOD. The gentleman will understand that in the State of Illinois by the adoption of a budget system they removed something like 127 high-priced commissions that were doing nothing but drawing fat salaries.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. I will.

Mr. TOWNER. I want to ask the gentleman from Iowa this question. It is absolutely inevitable that these powers should be conferred upon the President. He is essentially the head of the administrative department, and the departments are required to report to him, and he must of necessity pass upon them in submitting them to Congress.

Mr. GOOD. There is no question about that. He is the only official whom all the people hold responsible for the economy in the expenditures of the Government of the United States.

Mr. KAHN. The gentleman has said, Why give this power to the President? There is no way of avoiding it. It is inevitable under our system.

Mr. GOOD. There is no question about that. What the committee desired to reach was a conclusion that would give the Government of the United States a system that is workable and that will bring about some economy. I think no one on the committee had any pride of opinion in regard to authorship. We called in men who had been writing books on the subject, men who had been administering large business concerns, State and municipal affairs. We asked their opinion, drawn from the experience of the wisest and best of men, men with the widest experience, men who have studied the question of the budget. We may be mistaken in our conclusions, but I do not believe we are. I think the system we are reporting here is a system that is based on the experience of men who have made a success in their private affairs.

It is the result of the experience of successful administrators of the law. We went further. We provided for that system of checks and balances which ought to exist in every well-regulated budget plan. The President originates the budget and he transmits it to Congress. It is up to Congress to determine whether it will accept the estimates, whether it will modify them, reduce them, or enlarge them. Congress must then assume full responsibility for its acts, just as the President assumes responsibility for his when he makes the budget. After the bill has passed, then, under the execution of the law, we provide for that independent establishment in the general accounting office, an office that will be to the appropriations made by Congress what the Supreme Court is to the construction of laws that are enacted by Congress. The opinion of the men who are working in that accounting office is that by creating that independent establishment we will save the first year over \$600,000 of the \$3,000,000 now appropriated for general accounting purposes.

We create this independent establishment, answerable to Congress, an establishment that has clerks and accountants, who will go through every department of the Government. When they find waste and inefficiency, when they find dupli-

cation in the service, they will come to the committee of Congress that has jurisdiction of appropriations and report that fact. That fact will also be communicated to the President of the United States. With that system of checks and balances it is believed this great overlapping of activities, this duplication that exists in every department of the Government, will cease, and that the Government of the United States will be placed upon a business basis, and that we will then administer the greatest business in all the world, the business of the United States, upon the same principles that govern the business men in the conduct of their affairs. That is the kind of system that we have tried to work out and which we believe is embodied in this bill. [Applause.]

I yield half a minute to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SLEMP].

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record a statement on the finances of the Government that I have prepared.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, does this involve the bonus legislation?

Mr. SLEMP. It does not.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN].

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, I asked the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Good] about results obtained under the budget system. We have been told that in Illinois the budget system has resulted in the cutting off of a number of salaries. That may be true, but my information is that it also added \$20,000,000 to the burden of the taxpayers.

I rose more particularly to refer to H. Res. 341, to provide changes in the rules of the House in connection with the establishment of a national budget, which proposes to vest entire authority to appropriate in the Committee on Appropriations, and which resolution the gentleman states is to be taken up immediately after the conference report on the budget bill has been disposed of. England has tried the budget system with practically one committee. The Kaiser tried it. He had his one committee. Later he had more. The expenditures there were more closely guarded than is suggested in the resolution to follow. I simply rise to call attention to what it has cost England. Everybody knows that England is on the verge of bankruptcy. She is staggering under the deathblow of her infamous budget system, or, more properly stated, under the autocratic power vested in one committee. She is now turning heaven and earth to do what? To get away from this one-committee system, and the suggestion now is that she should have one appropriating committee for every one of her 13 departments.

If I had the time I would read from the reports. A committee was appointed in England to investigate the matter, and as I have stated, she is now trying to get away from that vicious system. It is a system that has bankrupted England and that is keeping her down to-day. We sent over 4,000,000 men into the recent war and lost 100,000 men in stamping out autocracy in Germany. As has been stated here to-day, we have an indebtedness of \$25,000,000,000. Fifty billion dollars have been expended in stamping out autocracy in Germany. And now, before peace has been declared, it is proposed to adopt the system of those bankrupt nations.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAUGEN. Yes.

Mr. LAZARO. Does not the gentleman think that England is doing pretty well after having been through four years of war?

Mr. HAUGEN. There has been a great waste of expenditures in England. She is trying to adopt our system, the system that we have had for a number of years—of not one appropriating committee but several appropriating committees.

She is trying to copy after our system. She tried the budget system. It failed and it has bankrupted her. We have been successful under our system. We have been the most successful nation on earth. If the Congress, the head of a department, or the President is derelict in his duties, the remedy is at the polls. If we need business men with business training in Congress, if we need men with business training and experience in the department, that is the remedy, gentlemen. If Congress intends to acknowledge that it has been derelict in its duties, acknowledge that it is inefficient, of course it can adopt this autocratic system and thus shirk its duty. Are you going to practically give up the rights which you have under the Constitution? The Constitution provides that not one dollar shall be expended from the Treasury without authority of law. It



is proposed to practically surrender that authority to the President and a committee of 35 Members. The Constitution gives you and me the same right. Do you suggest that 435 Members shall surrender that authority to 35 Members? I believe that no Member on this floor has the right to surrender the duties which he has as a representative of the people. The rights of a Representative can not be surrendered without surrendering the rights of those whom he represents. If you are willing to throw it all in one pot—

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HAUGEN. I trust that I may have more time.

Mr. GOOD. I will give the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. HAUGEN. What would be the results of the budget under your proposed change in the rules? If the budget should call for \$4,000,000,000—one billion for loans to the railroads, one billion for validation of war contracts, fifty millions for the Department of Agriculture, and so on—and if it should be necessary to cut the budget one hundred million, which item would be the most likely to be cut? Search the record. If you judge by the past, the record tells the story. Where would the bonus bill be to-day if it had gone to that committee? To-day's record will tell that story. Bear in mind that under the rule no other committee can report a bill carrying one dollar of appropriation—

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman refers to the bill just passed?

Mr. HAUGEN. I am speaking now of the proposed change in the rules to carry out the budget system.

With the exception of placing all authority to appropriate and pass upon appropriations in one instead of seven committees, no particular change from what we now have has been suggested except to infringe upon the rights of 400 Members. It adds nothing to nor detracts nothing from the responsibility of the Executive. It is now the function and duty of the Congress to scrutinize appropriations—

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HAUGEN. Under the leave granted to extend my remarks, I incorporate extracts from my remarks of October 18 on this subject, which have reference to the results of the autocratic budget systems of England and Germany:

"Sidney Webb, professor of public administration in the University of London, School of Economics and Political Science, in his reply to a question asked by the committees, favors not one committee—an autocratic power as suggested here—but states that for the purpose there should be appointed a standing committee for each of the 13 great divisions of government. So, according to the select committee and Dr. Webb, we should have not one committee, as suggested here, or eight appropriation committees, as we now have, but several committees, or one for each of the 10 departments. To that might be added others, as, for instance, one for the executive department, and so on. Undoubtedly a committee on appropriations for each department, as we now have on expenditures in each department, would result in a saving and great benefit. It goes without saying that committees having jurisdiction pertaining to the departments, committees drafting laws and who come in more frequent contact with the departments, have more intimate knowledge of their requirements than a committee giving all its time to appropriations. As to the advisability of one or more committees and as to the results of the budget system in Europe, I refer you to the ninth report from the select committee on national expenditures, together with the appendix, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed October 22, 1918. According to it, though wide difference of opinion exists in England as to whether committees should have jurisdiction over estimates and accounts, practically all agree that the present method for securing parliamentary control of expenditures is inadequate and favor the establishment of from 1 to 13 committees on expenditures.

"I have a copy of a publication entitled, 'The Nineteenth Century,' of August, 1917, in which Mr. J. A. R. Marriott refers to the vicious budget policy. On page 346 he quotes Sir Tudor Walters: 'Ministers must not imagine that they \* \* \* are possessed of some divine and supreme power. \* \* \* We want to restore to the House of Commons not merely the right to audit the expenses that are being incurred but to control the financial policy and expenditure of the country.' And states: 'Such language, repeated from every quarter of the House, proceeding indifferently from conservative, radical, and labor mem-

bers, possesses no inconsiderable significance.' On page 346 he quotes Mr. T. Gibson Bowles: 'A close study of British finance can not but conclude that the vast increase in our national expenditure does, on the whole, mainly arise from \* \* \* a disregard of economies, a contempt for frugality, and a lavish, wasteful, wanton, and unnecessary expenditure all around.' Does that sound like economy? On 351 he states: 'Can it be hoped that we shall ever get back to sound methods of finance, or that we shall ever reestablish the effective control of the House of Commons over expenditure so long as financial responsibility is divorced from political power? There is, however, general agreement that unless we are to drift toward disaster that control must be reestablished.' He further states that the act of 1866, the budget policy, is a corner stone of the existing edifice. On 353 he states: 'Plainly the first step to be taken is to insure a real and not merely a formal examination of the estimates. But a real examination is not possible at the hands of the whole House, nor, indeed, at the hands of any smaller body—such as a select committee \* \* \* the estimates should be closely scrutinized by a committee or by a series of committees—one for each class of votes—especially appointed for this purpose and charged to make a report to the House before the estimates are approved in committee of supply.' On 354: 'We want, therefore, not only an estimates committee but also a committee whose duty it shall be to examine the financial aspect of every bill which involves the expenditure of public money—a committee which shall have the power to examine ministers and permanent officials and shall make a detailed report to the House before it goes into committee on the bill. \* \* \* Is it not demonstrably true that much of the waste of public money which we are deploring to-day is due to overhaste in legislation? Is overhaste desired? If so, one committee. On 355 he states: 'The ancient machinery must be adapted to modern processes of production. Unless the adaptation is made, and made quickly, nothing but disaster can ensue.' And further quotes President Lowell, of Harvard, who, after referring to the 'growing practice of delegating legislative power,' adds: 'We hear much talk about the need for the devolution of the power of Parliament on subordinate representative bodies, but the tendency is not mainly in that direction. \* \* \* The real delegation has been in favor of the administrative departments of the central Government, and this' (as Mr. Lowell justly observes) 'involves a striking departure from Anglo-Saxon traditions with a distinct approach to the practice of continental countries.'

"On 357 he states: 'Neither the existing House of Commons nor the more responsible organ of public opinion will allow matters to remain as they are. Nor is any time to be lost.' On 358: 'It is of supreme importance to them that their representatives in the House of Commons should, without delay, take the necessary steps for regaining that control over the spending departments of the Government which they have allowed to slip out of their fingers.' The article is signed by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott and is followed by a footnote, which reads as follows: 'Since this article went to press the Government have settled the terms of reference to the select committee which is to be set up immediately—the terms which follow closely the line in the above pages.'

"Here is what the press and some of England's most eminent people have to say about the inferior autocratic budget policy. I quote from the London Times, Friday, August 8, 1919:

"ROAD TO RUIN—FINANCIAL PERIL ADMITTED—ECONOMY AND WORK THE ONLY HOPE—"DIRECT ACTION IS TREASON."

"The House of Commons turned its attention to-day to the great and serious questions of the reestablishment of the authority and control of Parliament and the financial position of the Kingdom. Mr. Chamberlain insisted that the good will and active assistance of every class in the community were needed to save the situation. If we continued spending as we were spending now, and if we did not increase production beyond the rate at which we were producing now, the end would be national bankruptcy. He repeated that the Government as a whole were seized with the seriousness of the position and had set their minds to find a remedy. There was nothing in the situation, he added, that was beyond our control, if we tackled it as a nation with the same resolution, public spirit, and unity with which we had faced and overcome the difficulties of the war.'

"Gentlemen, there is your economy. There is the situation under a budget system. As before stated, under it, under the lump-sum appropriations, it is easier to get money out of the Public Treasury. If that is what is desired, the budget system and the reduction of the number of committees will undoubtedly do that.

"I will include a few clippings from the London Times. The Times' report of the debate in the House of Commons, June, 1919:

"NATIONAL EXPENDITURE—THE QUESTION OF CONTROL.

"Mr. H. Samuel stated that it was right to say at the outset that they had found the chancellor of the exchequer and the Government departments very ready to adopt the suggestions which the select committee had made. So far from resenting them, they had, as a rule, really welcomed the committee's suggestions, because they realized that the committee had not been seeking opportunities for attack, but only seeking opportunities to be of assistance. There was a small number of outstanding questions as to which the Government had not met the suggestions of the committee or had met them only in a partial and insufficient degree. \* \* \* He complained of the war office attitude to the committee on expenditure in regard to the military staff of the war office. The committee had recommended last December that the war office should hold an inquiry of its own into the question of the increase in the staff.

"MR. BONAR LAW'S REPLY.

"The chancellor of the exchequer: I can assure the members of my right honorable friend's committee that it is through no feeling of discourtesy to them that I rise now before they have taken their part in the debate. \* \* \* It is the duty of the chancellor of the exchequer, more than anyone else, to welcome any measure by which greater control and some chance of saving can be secured in this immense expenditure. For that reason I welcomed the appointment of this committee. I welcomed it on the understanding, which has been adhered to, that it would be set up for the purpose of helping in this matter and not for the purpose of finding material with which to criticize the Government. There is a real danger that in dealing with this big question we may be so lost in details that we shall not be able to see the wood on account of the trees, and it is the business of the House to look at the larger aspects as well as the smaller aspects of this question. The Government have tried to carry out the recommendations of this committee."

"The Times, Friday, August 29, 1919:

"WHITEHALL PURGE—RUTHLESS REDUCTION AT WAR OFFICE—NATIONAL SHIPYARD SCANDAL.

"Our correspondent at Chepstow calls attention to the waste of between four and five millions of money there at the National Shipbuilding Yards. In two years two ships have been launched. Mr. Clynes, speaking last night at Widnes, denounced the Government's extravagance and waste. \* \* \* On top of Mr. Lloyd-George's letter to his colleagues has come a circular from the treasury addressed to the permanent heads of each state department, asking them to look into affairs and to effect economies in every possible direction."

"The Times, Thursday, September 4, 1919:

"THE ENFORCEMENT OF ECONOMY.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

"SIR: Mr. Mason thinks the suggestions made by Mr. Grant and myself for the control of expenditures beside the mark. His panacea is a change of Government, a remedy which suggests political partisanship rather than a genuine desire for economy. Those of us who are chiefly concerned to see good government restored look beyond the present "hustle," with its waste, its injustice, and its inevitable reaction. We want to see a system established which will insure that projected economies, as well as projected expenditures, receive careful and instructed consideration. Flying visits of inspection, letters from high places, week-end decisions on hastily thrown together reports, will not effect our objects. They can only be secured by intimate inside knowledge. But that knowledge must be independent of the department, or its possessor will inevitably be hampered by that spirit which exists in all great concerns, and which, at its best, appears as "esprit de corps"; at its worst, as departmental jealousy. I have advocated the appointment of a treasury official in each of the great spending departments, and if your correspondent is correct, something of the kind is about to be carried out. If this should be the case, the new officials should, as a matter of course, report from time to time to the select committee on national expenditure. I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN."

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

"SIR: The long and short of it is the country has got to meet a bill by March 31 next of one thousand six hundred millions and will only have six hundred millions with which to meet it. Will Lord Fisher or anyone else be kind enough to tell us how this is to be done? Will the prime minister or the chancellor of the exchequer or Mr. Bonar Law tell us? I have been looking at your columns every day for this, but "there is neither voice

nor any that answered." Are the English, who have shown themselves heroes in war, to be cowards in peace? Are our statesmen and generals and admirals, who have shown themselves invincible in battle, now to cringe and to cower before the calamity of insolvency, destitution, and want, and not to be able to point a way of safety from the self-accusing conscience of the nation which will save our self-respect and at the same time honor our acceptances? \* \* \* I was addressing a multitude in the open air upon this question the other day, and a man afterwards came up to me and said that he did not think he could draw his pension conscientiously any longer, and he had determined to seek some useful occupation. That is the spirit of noble independence and self-sacrifice which peace demands of us, and unless we, as a nation, can show the same fortitude and valor now that we did in the war we shall deserve to sink into the same infamy and disgrace as did the ancient empires of the world. Mr. Hoover's very plain speaking about the "stoppage of credit" is quite sufficient warning of what is coming upon us. \* \* \* There is no doubt this country can pay its way in time, but if its throat is to be cut just when it is beginning to breathe, we might just as well all have been destroyed in the recent war. Is it not perfectly futile to talk about houses for the working classes when we can not get the fuel with which to make the cement or the bricks—fuel which we shall want this winter for our very existence? When the nation can not pay its way, it is pure lunacy to launch out into a national transport system and the nationalization of coal mines, which will cost many millions. A man with a bankruptcy petition on the file against him might just as well talk about buying a new house or building a yacht.

"Yours, obediently,

EDMUND KISSER."

"Does that indicate economy under the autocratic budget system? I leave it you, gentlemen.

"I have a number of other clippings from press reports. I shall not read from them further than their headlines:

"The Times, Tuesday, September 2, 1919: 'Control of expenditure.'

"The Times, Saturday, August 9, 1919: 'The road to ruin—State extravagance—Ministers' fears—New estimates in the autumn.'

"The Times, Wednesday, August 13, 1919: 'Extravagance: the Government's apologies.'

"The Times, Monday, September 1, 1919: 'Treasury control—A return to sound practice.'

"The Times, Saturday, September 20, 1919: 'The public purse—Responsibility for control.'

"That is what the people of England think of the budget policy and no committee, or few committees, to review an appropriation. They have tried it. They are staggering under it. England is doing all it can to get away from the vicious, autocratic system, and is patterning after our system. We are expected here to adopt a system tried, discarded, and discredited in other countries.

"I will also quote from the ninth report from the select committee on national expenditure, to which I referred a few moments ago.

"Page 2 gives the order of reference. It states that on February 19, 1918, it was ordered that a select committee be appointed—

"To examine the current expenditure defrayed out of moneys provided by Parliament and to report what, if any, economies consistent with the execution of the policy decided by the Government may be effected therein.

"To make recommendations in regard to the form of public accounts, the system of control within the departments and by the treasury, and the procedure of this house in relation to supply and appropriation, so as to secure more effective control by Parliament over public expenditure."

"Page 3. It reports: 'The select committee on national expenditure have made progress in the matters to them referred so far as relates to the procedure of the House in relation to supply and appropriation and have agreed to the following ninth report. \* \* \* The subcommittee decided to proceed by way of written question and answer. They framed a questionnaire, which was sent to Mr. Speaker, the chairman of ways and means and the deputy chairman, to the chancellor of the exchequer and the ex-chancellors, to the financial secretary to the treasury and the ex-financial secretaries, to certain other members of the house representative of parties, to the comptroller and auditor general, to certain government officials, and to a small number of others whose views it was thought desirable to ascertain. We present in the appendix to this report the questions and the replies, together with a synopsis. Those questions and replies related to the normal conditions of times of peace, and this report relates to them also. \* \* \* The



replies show, with few exceptions, a consensus of opinion that the present system of parliamentary control over expenditures is inadequate. In that view we concur. Indeed our terms of reference themselves, inviting proposals to render control more effective, indicate that the house is not satisfied with the existing procedure. \* \* \* Under these conditions it is not surprising that there has not been a single instance in the last 25 years when the House of Commons by its own direct action has reduced on financial grounds any estimate submitted to it. \* \* \* Yet it can not be contended that there is never an occasion in any year or under any head on which proposals for expenditure could with advantage be reviewed and amended.

"Page 4 states: 'We consider that the House of Commons, as the representative of the taxpayer, should reassert fully and effectively its right of restricting the amounts to be allotted for each head of the national expenditure, and we recommend the adoption of the measures to that end which we now proceed to detail.'

"Standing committees on estimates: 'The great majority of the replies to the questions which were circulated favor the principle that the estimates should be subjected to examination by a select committee. Among those who express that view are all the officers of the House who were consulted—Mr. Speaker, the chairman of Ways and Means, the deputy chairman, and the Clerk of the House. We are unanimously of the same opinion.

"We recommend that at the beginning of each session there should be appointed by the customary procedure two standing committees on estimates, each consisting of 15 members. After some experience of the working of these committees it may be found desirable to add a third.

"We have considered the alternative of a single committee with a larger membership, which should divide itself into a number of subcommittees, each dealing with one department or group of departments, but we have arrived at the conclusion that for the purpose in view the balance of advantage lies against this method."

"Page 5 (S. C. on E.) states: 'The estimates committee of 1912, 1913, and 1914 was appointed in pursuance of a recommendation of the Select Committee on National Expenditures of 1902-3. It rendered useful service, but its usefulness was impaired by three causes.

"First, the task imposed upon it was too large for a single body to perform; it was able to consider each year only a fraction of the estimates; its examination of the votes of any particular department was rather an exceptional incident than a normal part of the financial procedure. The departments knew that, once their estimates had been considered, it would probably be from 7 to 10 years before they were considered again. Our proposals for two committees—and, if experience shows it to be desirable, for the addition of a third—should go far to remove this drawback, particularly if each of the committees were expected to give as much time as might be necessary to enable it to cover each session a large part of the whole field."

"Do you want estimates examined once in 10 years? If so, have one committee as proposed here. That is your one-committee budget system. That is your autocratic form of government proposed here.

"On page 8 the committee gives its conclusions and recommendations:

"We are of the opinion that the existing procedure of the House of Commons is inadequate to secure proper parliamentary control over the national expenditure. We recommend that there should be appointed each session two standing committees on estimates, each consisting of 15 members, and that a third should be added if experience showed that this was desirable."

"Page 9, Appendix. Questions relating to the procedure of the House of Commons on matters of finance and the replies received thereto. List of questions: (These questions relate to normal conditions and not to the state of war.)

"1. Do you consider that the present methods for securing parliamentary control over expenditure are adequate?

"2. If not, do you regard the appended proposal for the establishment of a standing committee on estimates and accounts as the right line of reform?

"3. Have you any modifications to suggest to that proposal?"

"Page 10. Reply from Mr. Speaker:

"1. I do not consider the present methods tend to economy. The House of Commons has become one of the chief spending departments of the State.

"2. I believe that a committee on estimates, selected from among the real advocates of economy, would have a salutary effect.

"3. It is a mistake to combine the public accounts committee and the estimates committee. The function of the latter is to criticize the vote of money necessary for a particular service; the function of the former is to see that the money voted has been spent in the manner intended."

"Page 11. Reply from the Right Hon. Sir Donald McLean, K. B. E., deputy chairman of ways and means:

"2. I think that a committee on estimates is a very good idea."

"Page 14. Reply from the Right Hon. T. McKinnon Wood:

"2. Yes. It is quite impossible for so large a body as the committee of the whole house adequately to consider details of estimates, and I think that it is necessary to adopt the standing committee system if anything like effective control over the spending departments is to be exercised by the House of Commons. Such control will in the future be of extreme importance."

"Page 15. Reply from the Right Hon. Walter Runciman, M. P.:

"In reply to your inquiry I have to say that, after considering the tentative proposal of your committee that greater economy in the expenditure of public moneys should be secured by means of a standing committee on estimates, set up as a microcosm of the House of Commons, somewhat on the lines laid down by your committee? I could not give more than general approval of this suggestion, for in some details it seems to me expedient to make modifications.

"I do not hold the view that a committee set up for this purpose would lead to pressure for increased rather than for decreased expenditure, but if that tendency is to be feared safeguards against it can be provided from the first."

"Page 18. Reply from the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P.:

"With reference to question 1, the reply is definitely in the negative, and in reply to Nos. 2, 3, and 4, while not committing the party to every detail in the proposal for a standing committee, broadly it is on right lines. It may be stated, however, that in our opinion 26 members would not be sufficient to do the work contemplated."

"Reply from the Right Hon. J. W. Gulland, M. P., page 19:

"1. No; I think the present methods very inadequate.

"2. The committee as proposed would be one useful line of reform.

"3 and 4. It entirely depends on how this committee is worked. If it is energetic it could be of enormous use, but it all depends upon the work and spirit that is put into it."

"Page 20. Reply from James Parker, Esq., M. P.:

"If parliamentary control is to be really effective the estimates of every department should, in my opinion, be considered by a committee before they are sanctioned by the house."

"Page 22. Note by Sir H. J. Gibson, K. C. B. (comptroller and auditor general):

"While supporting the establishment of a standing committee on estimates as well as on accounts, I am strongly of the opinion that they should be separate and not combined, though some members should serve on both."

"Page 24. Reply from T. Gibson Bowles, Esq.:

"Both the expenditure to be provided for and the actual expenditure itself are uncontrolled. In the true sense there is no public finance left. Nor will there be nor can there be any restoration thereof, either during the war or for long after. The waste, the squandering, the fraud, and the terrible irregularities of all sorts now proceeding and inevitable in war will then come under review, as they did after the Boer War in the public accounts committee, whereof I was then a member."

"Page 26. Reply from Sidney Webb, Esq., professor of public administration in the University of London (School of Economics and Political Science):

"No one committee could set itself to control policy in general. What seems required is a series of standing committees, to be appointed by the committee of selection at the beginning of each Parliament mainly from among members interesting themselves especially in the particular subject and serving for the whole term of the Parliament—this not necessarily excluding a formal reappointment and filling of vacancies each session—each committee charged with the continuous oversight of what is actually being done in 1 of the 13 fundamental branches of our Government at its present stage, namely, foreign affairs, defense, finance, justice, the promotion of material production, communication and transport, the regulation of employment, education, health, the administration of India and that of the dominions and dependencies, supplies and research."

"Page 27. Reply from Sidney Webb, suggesting 13 committees:

"To sum up, I propose:

"1. That the House of Commons should insist on a marked distinction being made between the oversight of policy and the art of technique of administration.

"2. That the house should organize its own work so as to be able to exercise such a continuous oversight of all the ministries or departments as will enable it to secure the execution of the policy that it has prescribed, and no other.

"3. That for this purpose there should be appointed a standing committee for each of the 13 great divisions of government, the various ministries or departments concerned with each such division being required to supply, continuously and automatically, the information necessary to enable the committee to satisfy itself that the prescribed policy is being carried out efficiently and therefore with genuine economy."

"Page 28, Part III. Synopsis of replies received to the questions submitted by the subcommittee on procedure:

"To question 1:

"The house 'has become one of the chief spending departments of the State.' (Mr. Speaker.)

"It is impossible for the house as a whole to have any effective knowledge of the countless details of expenditure. (Sir Charles Hobhouse, Mr. McKinnon Wood.)

"Debate in committee of the whole house is an unsuitable method. It reflects current opinion, which may be economical or the reverse. (Sir C. Ilbert.)

"It is diffuse and inconclusive, and in any case is concerned with policy and not with the amount of expenditure. (Sir Sydney Olivier, Mr. Hayes-Fisher, Sir William Gibbons.)

"To question 2:

"Unqualified (or practically unqualified) approval is expressed by the chairman of ways and means, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, Mr. McKinnon Wood, Mr. Hayes-Fisher, Mr. James Parker, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Boland, Sir Sydney Olivier, Sir William Gibbons, and Mr. Harold Cox. Approval in general terms, but subject to important reservations, by Mr. Speaker, Sir Donald McLean, Mr. Runciman, Sir Charles Hobhouse, Mr. Acland, Mr. Gulland, and Sir Charles Harris. Mr. Asquith would have no objection to seeing the experiment tried."

"Gentlemen, England has tried this since 1866. She has given it a fair trial. As a result she is on the verge of helpless bankruptcy. The report gives the conclusions of this committee, a committee that has given this matter years of thought and consideration. Are we to pattern after England? Are we not drifting into debt fast enough?

"I will also quote from the Economist.

"In the issue of November 30, 1918, page 739, George Hamilton in an article stated:

"The nonperformance of these duties will ultimately land the country in insolvency or to infringe upon the present prerogatives of the chancellor of the exchequer and the treasury by associating with them a capable cooperation, and by obtaining effective economy preserve national solvency. \* \* \* I further contended in my letter that it was policy and not accountancy which alone can regulate and control national expenditure. If committees were established on the lines I suggested they would very much resemble the parliamentary bureaux of the French Assembly, and these bureaux investigate expenditure before and not after it is sanctioned. My suggestions therefore would put some limitation on the powers which the chancellor of the exchequer, the treasury, and the House of Commons as a whole are now supposed to exercise, but it is because they are incompetent adequately to discharge this duty, and their incompetency is generally acknowledged, that it becomes necessary to substitute an effective machinery for that which from experience we know has failed and will continue to fail."

"In the issue of December 7, 1918, page 776, Constitution Hill states:

"No tinkering with the constitution of the treasury will prevent the elect of modern democracy from spending public money."

"In the issue of May 10, 1919, page 776, under an article entitled 'This year, next year, some time—?' appears the following:

"Neither this year nor next year nor perhaps the year after will be entirely normal, and in considering what our policy ought to be, I am driven to the hazardous experiment of casting my mind forward into the future to an imaginary normal year.' (The Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

"We may perhaps be doing an injustice by a comparison of the chancellor's finance with an almost passive religious piety, but there is about his speech—even about his exhortations to economy—a painful suggestion that things have gone far beyond his control, and a despairing hopelessness of any rapid improvement in the attitude of Parliament toward expenditure. \* \* \* Hesitation in assuming that Parliament will show any respect for economy is natural and indeed inevitable, but it would be much better for the chancellor, instead of saying, 'I assume,

though I have no right to assume, that you will be good boys,' to say to the House of Commons, 'So long as I am at the treasury you have got to behave yourselves.' In other matters the Government has not shown much respect for the independence or the importance of this House of Commons, and if firmness and dictation are wanted anywhere it is in the realm of finance that the need is most urgent. \* \* \* Then we have in this hypothetical budget a debt charge of £400,000,000. This figure compares with an actual estimate of £360,000,000 for the current year, leaving a difference of £40,000,000 as the charge on subsequent borrowing. Here again results must depend on exertion and economy, and until revenue covers expenditure £400,000,000 will unhappily remain a hypothetical figure. How much more the State will have to incur through housing, redemption of debt, and loss on exchange is not clear, but we shall probably be fortunate if Mr. Chamberlain's estimate is not exceeded."

"Here you have the result of the budget policy of England. Is it what is desired in our country?

"In the issue of May 17, 1919, page 797, under an article entitled 'Waste,' appears the following: 'Every now and then the select committee on expenditures or the auditor general lifts the veil for a moment and shows us a few striking instances of how Government officials have played ducks and drakes with the public money. \* \* \* But we doubt whether the public have ever been given such startling revelations of the way in which their money has been thrown in the gutter as is provided by a report on the ministry of munitions issued this week by the comptroller and auditor general. Ten columns would hardly suffice if we were to give all the paragraphs in this report which refer to extensive official delinquencies, and we advise our readers to purchase the document for themselves. It is numbered 79 and may be obtained for 6d. at His Majesty's Stationery Office or through any bookseller. \* \* \* We have not the space to pursue further this tragic catalogue of sins against the taxpayer. \* \* \* We can not now save these millions that have already gone down the sink. But the plea that it is no good crying over spilt milk or shutting the stable door after the horse has been stolen is as perilous as it is specious."

"Worse and worse the further we look into it. Think it over."

"In the issue of August 16, 1919, page 259, under an article entitled 'The prime minister's chance,' appears the following: 'At the end of last week Mr. Chamberlain told the house that if we continue to spend as we are now spending we shall be on the road to national bankruptcy, but seemed to regard his statement as a matter of purely academic interest, not requiring any action on his part. He is apparently prepared, after giving this warning, to let things go on as they are. He also stated that on both sides of the account his budget estimates will be very wide of the mark. The expected expenditure will certainly be exceeded, and he will be some £70,000,000 short in his revenue. \* \* \* Perhaps even more astonishing, as an indication of the Government's incapacity to see what is required of it by the country, was its defense of the charges made in the report, already referred to, by the select committee on national expenditure. A very important point, on which great emphasis has been laid by the daily press, was a reply made by the lord advocate (Mr. Clyde) to Sir John Hunter when he urged that criminal proceedings should be taken with regard to certain sums that appeared to have been wrongfully expended. \* \* \* Such is the series of ineptitudes with which the rank and file of what is called our Government have heaped discredit on discredit. \* \* \* We need drastic official economy and taxation. \* \* \* We must pay our way, and since the budget is already a fallacious mockery, it must be amended so as to bring us at least as near to paying our way as we were said to be when it was brought in."

"In the issue of August 23, 1919, page 320, under an article entitled 'Controlling the departments,' written by Charles John Wilson, appears the following: 'Upon all hands we hear cries that if the nation would avoid bankruptcy, greater vigilance must be shown and greater control exercised over the spending departments. \* \* \* Parliament finds it very easy to vote money—that is, to sanction expenditure—but in the present state of our finances it is necessary that much greater control should be instituted. That is wherein all Government departments fail so lamentably when brought into comparison with private enterprise. Why should it be so? Is it not that there is a fundamental difference in the methods employed? \* \* \* Can nothing more be done to show our efficiency as a nation in controlling our spending?'"

"Mind you, all under a budget policy. Does that sound like economy?"



"I next compared the bill with the German budget policy. After making a comparison I need not say that I was not only surprised but astounded to see that the German budget system more closely guards its public treasury than the one suggested here. Aside from that, the two are practically the same. First, the preparation of the German budget estimates began with the local authorities. They were then submitted to the provincial authorities who criticized, revised, and coordinated them. They were next forwarded to the appropriate ministry—there are 12 of them. There they were again scrutinized, revised, and classified, and made an integral part of the department estimates. After the estimates were revised by the heads of the respective ministries they were transmitted to the imperial ministry of the treasury for further scrutiny and revision. They were then presented to the imperial chancellor for his approval. The final preparatory step in the budget procedure was the submission of the completed estimates to the Emperor. You will note that the estimates started with the local communities, the States and cities, and step by step were closely scrutinized and reviewed as they passed up to the Emperor, after which they were finally submitted to the Bundesrath, showing in itemized form the estimates, receipts, and expenditures.

"That procedure has been characterized as autocratic.

"Here in America, under a democratic form of government, not only where we preach it but where we live up to it, where we have gone to the extent of sacrificing 100,000 lives and expending \$50,000,000,000 in order to stamp out autocracy and to make the world a safer and better place in which to live, now, within 12 months after the victory achieved, it is suggested that we plunge headlong into the most autocratic form of government ever suggested; that is, so far as making expenditures are concerned.

"As was stated recently at the industrial conference by that noble champion of labor, Mr. Gompers, 'Are we in this year of grace, 1919, when we have driven political autocracy off the face of the earth, to submit to an industrial autocrat?' The words can well be applied in this case. As everybody knows, a budget system means lump-sum appropriations, which makes it easier for certain ones to get their hands into the Public Treasury. The centralization of power to appropriate the public money in one committee is undemocratic and a step toward autocracy. It deprives the membership of this House of their rights and prerogatives, and their rights can not be invaded without encroaching upon the rights of those whom they represent.

"In Germany, after passing through the various steps indicated, estimates were introduced first in the Bundesrath—the chief legislative organ of the Empire—a legislative council of instructed delegates from the several German States, appointed by the princes or kings of the States and the senate of the free cities, which council exercised the mixed function of a legislative and executive council or a court of appeals. It possessed the power of initiative and no change or amendment by the Reichstag could become valid without its approval. It was presided over by the imperial chancellor, at the head of the Prussian delegation. The Prussian members numbered 17. The total number of the Bundesrath, I believe, was 61. In Germany they had a committee of 61 representing the various States, cities, and local communities who watched over the items relating to their own States and saw to it that their rights were fully protected. Upon approval of the budget estimates the imperial chancellor of that body introduced them into the Reichstag with the budget bill, where it was debated and given consideration and then referred to the budget committee, a committee composed of representatives of various political parties, and similar to the one suggested here in this bill. Estimates were examined in detail. The commission from the Bundesrath appeared before the committee to give explanation and information. After that it was reported by the budget committee. Then the estimates were taken up for a second reading and debate. At the third reading the estimates were discussed item by item and then voted upon. As a rule, the majority of the Reichstag approved the budget upon the recommendation of the budget committee. The greatest freedom of debate was always allowed. Complaints against the departments' management were aired and criticized. After approval by the Reichstag the budget was then returned to the Bundesrath, where it was finally approved and then promulgated by the Emperor.

"Thus I have briefly compared the German policy with the one suggested here. Slack and imperfect it may be, but who will dispute the fact that the German system is more safeguarded? If autocracy was a bad thing in Germany, why here in America?

"Gentlemen, the results obtained under the budget policy in other countries do not square with the contention set forth in the report. The bill now under consideration, if enacted into

law, will probably do no harm. I doubt that it will improve matters. But as this bill affects expenditures only, if it bankrupts our country as it has other countries, that may in time be overcome. But when a resolution having for its object an encroachment on the rights and privileges of the Members of the House is to be taken into consideration, that is a different matter. I for one shall oppose it. Recently our policy has been not to make this House more autocratic, but to make it more representative. Our experience with autocratic power in the past resulted in wreck and ruin. Shall we try it again? Experience, careful thought, and consideration convince me that the best interests of the people in general and of the country at large would be better served by increasing the number of appropriation committees. In my opinion we should have at least one appropriation committee for each department.

"Besides that, I am absolutely opposed to the concentration of legislative power in one man or in one committee, thus curtailing the Member's rights and personal independence. And as I have stated, the Member's rights can not be encroached upon without invading the rights of those whom he represents. I believe that the people of the United States should have full opportunity to have their desires recorded; that their Representatives may have an opportunity to record their votes according to the dictates of their consciences and their best judgment.

"Why, gentlemen, that is simply contending for that for which our forefathers fought and died. With due regard and respect to those who disagree with me and who believe in the concentration of legislative power, who believe that the best interests of the people can be served thereby better, and with due regard for and full appreciation of the charms and shrewdness of the proponents of the resolution, I can not help but believe that it is safer to trust to the judgment and integrity of 435 Members of the House representing 112,000,000 of people than to leave it to any one man or any one committee.

"We have had experience along this line in the past. It is fresh in the memory of all of us. It resulted in wreck and ruin. As you know, the day after election enough found their political carcasses outside of the breastworks to turn the power over.

"The rights and the principles for which our forefathers fought and died are as sacred to the American people to-day as they ever were. Rest assured that they are not going to yield in that respect. Our march will be onward. It will be upward. We will continue to lead all nations not only in commerce, in agriculture, and in industrial pursuits, but in honor, dignity, in morality, and everything that goes to make a nation great and grand. [Applause.]

"If I read the handwriting on the wall correctly, no autocracy or legislative subjugation for any length of time will be tolerated. Though the American people have at times submitted to autocratic rule, burdensome taxation, and inconvenience, you can put it down for a certainty that this and coming generations will ever contend for and maintain their rights. Now, as in the past, the American citizen's love for equal rights granted under the Constitution are as near and dear to him as they were to our forefathers who bled and died for them. He can at all times be counted upon true and loyal to our grand and glorious Government, with its splendid and magnificent institutions, and you may rest assured that its honor and dignity will ever be maintained.

"Patriotism, loyalty, and the principles for which our fathers fought and died are as safe to-day as they ever were. [Applause.] And any party or set of men that undertakes to interfere with them will, as in the past, forever regret it. [Applause.]

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK].

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, of course I am in favor of the adoption of a budget plan and therefore will vote for this conference report, but I think that the people are going to be greatly disappointed in its results if Congress does not change its own legislative policy. Now, the point I want to make is that regardless of the charges we make against the executive departments of the Government as to extravagance the fact remains that most of the expenditures are of our own making and authorization. We have this afternoon adopted a measure, the soldiers' bonus bill, containing five different settlement plans, with four or five different sorts of taxation, some of these entirely new. Some Members who spoke on the bill have said that it will entail the expenditure of \$1,000,000,000 and others have said it will cost as high as \$5,000,000,000, and yet—

Mr. GARRETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. Pardon me for just a minute—yes; I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GARRETT. The late Secretary of the Interior stated in the hearings before the Committee on Rules during the last session of Congress that the reclamation plan which was involved in the bill just passed an hour or two ago if carried out would alone cost a minimum of \$4,000,000,000.

Mr. BLACK. And yet we adopted the bill in a great rush without an opportunity given us to even offer an amendment on the floor of the House. Now, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Goob] in the speech which he has just made spoke of the duplication in the departments of the Government. Practically every bit of this duplication is due to legislation which Congress itself enacts with eyes wide open and full information already at hand. Let me call attention to some duplication in the bill which we have just passed this afternoon. We have now, as Members well know, the War Risk Insurance Bureau as a department of the Treasury having charge of all the insurance business pertaining to the soldiers, and it already has a very complete organization, and yet the bill we just now passed contains a provision which provides that the Postmaster General shall do the loaning of money on the paid-up insurance policies that are provided in plan 2 of the bill for ex-service men. The Post Office Department has no insurance department and it will have to create an entirely new bureau for the work. That will be duplication and performing the identical service that should be performed by the War Risk Insurance Bureau. This is a concrete illustration of the very sort of duplication that the gentleman from Iowa made mention of in his speech, and it seems to me that Congress itself must revise its legislative policies before we are to get any economy in the Federal Government. It is always a very easy pastime to shift responsibility and blame to the shoulders of somebody else, and I have never seen anybody that was more expert at the pastime than the Congress of the United States, especially this Republican Congress. It is time we had some real economy instead of so much of the lip-service sort that we have had recently.

Mr. GOOD. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS].

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I fear my good friend from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] has confused this budget bill with the proposition to change the rules of the House with respect to the number of committees which will have appropriating jurisdiction. This budget bill—

Mr. HAUGEN. I paid my respects to the budget system and then referred to the proposed rule that is to follow this bill. I understand the Committee on Rules has such a rule.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Whether or not the rules are changed, the budget bill—

Mr. HAUGEN. And as stated by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Goob] the two went hand in hand.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee (continuing). Will undoubtedly serve a great purpose in enabling Congress to economize in the matter of making appropriations for the Government. I concur in what the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Goob] has said with reference to the action of the conferees upon this bill. It was stated by a distinguished Senator at the other end of the Capitol that the report of the conferees was in every respect along the lines of the Senate bill, but I submit, as the gentleman has stated, that an analysis of the bill as reported by the conferees will show that the views which the House had in passing the House bill have been absolutely maintained and preserved. The budget bill as it passed the House was passed with the particular view of placing upon the President of the United States the responsibility for the submission of estimates to the Congress, and, in order that he might properly meet that responsibility, to provide him with a sufficient force or the proper machinery in order to make proper revision of the estimates as they come to him from the various departments. That, I say, was the chief idea of the House bill in respect to the executive budget. The Senate passed a bill in which they undertook to make the Secretary of the Treasury the head of the budget, and to place upon him, rather than upon the President, the responsibility of revising and submitting these estimates. The conferees have had many meetings, and after a very thorough discussion pro and con they finally agreed upon the plan as submitted here, and this responsibility is placed upon the President, as the House first determined.

The bill, as the result of the compromise with the Senate conferees, makes the Secretary of the Treasury the director of the budget, but the bill provides that the President shall appoint the assistant director of the budget, and the President has authority to call upon this assistant, or upon the director, the Secretary of the Treasury, if he desires, for any service that he wishes either one or both of them to perform. But the point is that the President of the United States, an elective officer

of the United States, is made responsible to Congress and to the country for the estimates as they come to Congress from the departments. Now, it has been said that the President of the United States already had that authority. Without discussing that feature of the matter, everyone knows that the President of the United States up to this time has been given absolutely no machinery with which he can carry out any responsibility that he may have along that line. But when we provide him with a bureau of the budget, when we give to him the proper force of experts, accountants, and clerks, then there can be no possible excuse on the part of the President for any estimates that he may submit to Congress.

Therefore, I anticipate when this bill gets into action we will have estimates which will come to Congress revised and reduced, with duplications eliminated, and not sent here as they were originally formed and framed, by some bureau chief, or even some chief of a division in the various departments. Now, we can not expect this law at the outset, possibly, to accomplish all that we intend, because as the years go by it will be improved, possibly, in form, if it needs to be improved. It will be improved so far as the administration and execution of the law is concerned. It is a constructive measure which is more badly needed now than ever before, because of the great expenses of the Government, and I am confident it will result in the saving of vast sums to the Government every year. The committee has worked diligently and earnestly to frame a proper law, and I wish particularly to commend the chairman of the committee [Mr. Goob] for the very able manner in which he has served the Congress and the country in this matter.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired. [Cries of "Vote! Vote!"]

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN].

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I favor this bill, not because I believe it will accomplish everything claimed for it, but because I believe some good will result from it.

As my colleague [Mr. HAUGEN] has said, the workings of the budget system have been anything but satisfactory in England. In fact, there has been a perfect storm of complaint for many years by reason of the waste and extravagance created under the budget system as it prevailed there. But in the few moments allotted to me I have no time to discuss that.

I believe that this bill which we now have before us will prevent the Chief Executive from dodging responsibility with reference to the department estimates. The great influence of the President might be used to curb extravagance in the departments. It has not been so used by the present occupant of that position. Before he came into office a Republican President did use his influence to that end. Under the law that is still on the statute books he was able to control appropriations to a large extent, but it has never been followed by the present occupant of the White House. He was enabled under that law to hold down the department chiefs and cut down the estimates and force reductions in expenditures.

Now, whatever this bill may accomplish, be it more or less, it will at least fix the responsibility clearly on the President for the estimates that are sent to Congress. He will no longer be permitted to deny that he is responsible for it. If waste and extravagance are proposed in these estimates, he will be responsible, and I believe this bill will remedy the situation to some extent.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR].

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I realize that the House is anxious to vote on this report, and I only want to say a few words. First, I wish to say that neither the country at large nor even this House itself has any proper appreciation of the enormous amount of earnest, hard work and conscientious study that have been given to this budget bill by the chairman of this committee, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Goob]. Notwithstanding thousands of duties as chairman of the Appropriation Committee, he especially has borne the main burden of this work. I feel that the whole country ought to have a kindly feeling for him for the energy and skill which he has exercised in bringing about the enactment of this splendid measure. [Applause.]

I do not want to disparage the work of the other members of the budget committee. We have all worked hard and are all relieved and delighted to see this final conference report adopted, because it means the enactment into law of the first great step toward a national budget system. I feared at one time that this measure was not being pressed in another body as it should be, and I submitted some inquiries and remarks on its delay, but it has been rapidly pushed since that time.



I look upon this as one of the greatest pieces of constructive legislation that we have enacted for many years. Now, if the House and Senate will only do their full duty as well as I am confident the President of the United States will do his, whoever he may be, we will be taking a great step in advance and will save hundreds of millions of dollars to the taxpayers of this country, and I know it will always be a gratification to all of us to have taken part in this splendid piece of legislation that has been talked about for so long and been needed so much.

I hope to see the Senate and House change their rules so as to make this law the efficient economy measure that we all hope and believe it will ultimately be.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Colorado has expired.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for one minute.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to make any ex post facto argument on the bill just passed, but statements have been made which, unless controverted, might create a misapprehension as to its details. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN], as I understood him, said that if this budget were now a law the Committee on Ways and Means would not have had jurisdiction over the so-called bonus bill, because it carried an appropriation. In fact, no appropriation is carried in it.

Mr. HAUGEN. If it had not been referred to that committee, what would have become of it?

Mr. LONGWORTH. No appropriation was made. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] referred to a statement made by the Secretary of the Interior, I think, to the effect that \$4,000,000,000 would be expended on the so-called land-settlement feature. It may be true that the Secretary made that statement some time ago, but that was in relation to the so-called Lane plan. If that were true, it is not true under this bill, because the limit of \$250,000,000 was placed in it, which can not be exceeded.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wyoming is recognized for one minute.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the chairman, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] and this Budget Committee on the result of their labors. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wyoming asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, the remarks are to be made only on the budget?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the adoption of the conference report.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wyoming moves the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. GOOD, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

#### USE OF ARMY COTS AND BLANKETS.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, I call up from the Speaker's table House joint resolution 336, with Senate amendments.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas calls up House joint resolution 336, with Senate amendments. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 336) authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to the Albert Sidney Johnston Camp, United Confederate Veterans, No. 1820, Fort Worth, Tex., 100 cots and blankets for the use of Confederate veterans at the reunion of said camp June 24 to 27, inclusive, 1920.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the Senate amendments.

The Senate amendments were read.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, I move to concur in the Senate amendments.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas moves to concur in the Senate amendments. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The question was taken, and the Senate amendments were agreed to.

On motion of Mr. LANHAM, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I make the point that there is no quorum present.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman withhold that for a moment?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to state that it has been arranged that the rule for changing the rules of the House providing for one Committee on Appropriations will be reported, as I understand, on Monday morning, and it is my intention to call up that resolution immediately after the House convenes.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved*, That JOHN W. HARRELD, Member of Congress from Oklahoma, be, and he is hereby, elected a member of standing committees of the House as follows: Public Buildings and Grounds; Pensions; and Expenditures in the War Department; and That ISAAC SIEGEL be, and he is hereby, elected chairman of the Committee on the Census.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### DATE OF ADJOURNMENT OF SESSION.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to present for the information of the House a resolution which I am placing in the basket. I ask to have that read for information.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wyoming asks that there be read, for the information of the House, the following resolution, which the Clerk will report:

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session by adjourning their respective Houses on the 5th day of June, 1920, at 4 o'clock.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I expect to call that up at some opportune time early next week.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF RAILROAD CARS.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk, and concerning which I insert the following letters:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 28, 1920.

HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: On behalf of all the bituminous miners of the United States, particularly the miners of the State of Ohio, we desire to call your attention to the fact that a large number of miners and their families in every coal-mining district of Ohio are in a deplorable condition because of their lack of work, due primarily, as we understand it, to a recent order issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission which gives preferential car assignment to certain mines, making it possible for those miners to work almost continuously, while the miners employed at other mines are working, in many cases, less than 25 per cent time.

The miners, as a rule, do not measure their earnings by the amount of money that is in their pay envelope, but rather by comparison with the earnings of their neighbors, and when the men working in one mine are making \$2 more than the men working in some other mine it creates a condition of dissatisfaction and unrest at both mines. The man earning the most money is usually more dissatisfied than the fellow earning the small amount. This condition is prevalent throughout all the bituminous mining districts, and no doubt will result disastrously unless some correction is made.

The Bituminous Coal Commission, created and appointed by the President of the United States, made the recommendation in their report that the preferential car assignment be discontinued, as it was discriminatory to the mine operator and to the coal miners, as well as to the general public. The miners in accepting the award of the commission believed that this recommendation, with the other recommendations, would be complied with; and no doubt would have been had it not been for the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the contrary.

Our understanding of paragraph 12, section 402, of the Esch-Cummings Act is that the preferential car assignment was forever abolished, and we ask that you join with other Congressmen from our State in passing a resolution, or by some other legislative means correct the abuses as complained of above, making it so plain that the Interstate Commerce Commission will be compelled to recall the recent order.

Thanking you on behalf of all the mine workers whom we represent, we beg to remain,

Sincerely, yours,

JOHN MOORE,  
President Ohio Mine Workers.

WALTER J. JAMES,  
Legislative Representative United Mine Workers of America.

FEDERATED BOARDS OF TRADE OF SOUTHEASTERN OHIO,  
ATHENS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
Athens, Ohio, May 28, 1920.

HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Our commercial bodies wish to direct your attention to violations of the provisions of a recent act of Congress by the present management of the railroads under an order of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The violations are of paragraph 12, section 402, of the transportation act.

The practice now engaged in by the railroads in violation of this act is the inequitable distribution of cars known as the assigning of cars for the loading of railroad fuel, which cars so assigned are not being distributed to mines on the basis of each mine's ratable share of cars. Many evils result from this practice; in fact, nothing has done so much injury to the people generally in the mining regions, and nothing has caused so much discontent as the assigned-car practice. It is altogether unfair and unjust.

It gives to some of the men nearly full-time employment and pay, while others are permitted to work but one or two days per week. Much suffering as a result is inevitable. It makes all of the citizens—laborers, business men, and others—of one town or community prosperous while an adjoining town or community dependent upon mines not favored with an assigned-car supply is barely able to exist. It keeps the men constantly moving from one town to another in the hope of securing work at a mine favored by the railroads only to find perhaps after securing such employment that the railroad-fuel contract and consequently the car supply had been shifted to some other mine. Such intolerable conditions can not continue.

We happen to be located at the source of the trouble, and consequently are the first to suffer. But the suffering will soon be extended to those dependent upon us for next winter's coal supply.

In this connection we are advised that 30,000,000 tons of coal must go up by way of the Lakes to the people of the Northwest for next winter. This amount is essential to their comfort under normal winter conditions and must go during the navigation season of seven months.

Due to lack of cars, but 1,500,000 tons, or 5 per cent of this amount, have been shipped to date, whereas 6,000,000 tons, or 20 per cent of the amount, should have been shipped.

While the railroads are getting their own fuel under the assigned-car practice, they are not furnishing cars to transport the winter fuel supply of the public. Those coal cars which should be carrying the public's coal are being used for transporting automobiles and various other articles and materials which produce more revenue for the carriers than the transportation of coal would produce.

The assigned-car practice has received adverse comment by every individual and group not interested in railroad revenues who have studied the question deeply. This includes the Bituminous Coal Commission, the Railroad Administration, the Fuel Administration, and both labor and commercial organizations. A perusal of the history of the practice shows it to have been universally condemned.

The writer has interviewed personally many members of both the House and the Senate who were intimately connected with all the legislative activities leading up to the passage of the act referred to. Without one single exception or shadow of doubt in the minds of any of them, all are agreed that it was the intent of Congress in this legislation to get rid of the assigned-car practice and its many evils. A correct interpretation of the language of the act is in accord with that intent.

The Interstate Commerce Commission refuses to interpret the language of the act correctly, and therefore refuses to carry out the clear and express intent of Congress. We can be heard fairly in the matter only by you who have undertaken to remedy these evils. What is to be done?

Yours, very truly,

C. H. BAYSON, *Secretary.*

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of no quorum present.

Mr. WINGO. I hope the gentleman will withdraw that for the present.

Mr. SABATH. All right; I withdraw it for the present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas the railroad companies are making assignments of freight cars; and

Whereas the said railroad companies, or a part of them, are making such assignment in a manner alleged to be discriminatory and prejudicial to the common public welfare; and

Whereas authority for making assignment of cars by said railroad companies is predicated upon an order of the Interstate Commerce Commission, dated April 15, 1920, and entitled "Notice to carriers and shippers," and is in the following words and figures:

"The commission recommends that until experience and careful study demonstrate—

Mr. BENSON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland makes the point of no quorum. Evidently no quorum is present.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 34 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, May 31, 1920, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. LUHRING, from the Committee on Flood Control, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13573) to make a preliminary survey of the Wabash River in Illinois and Indiana with a view to the control of its floods, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1056), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DEWALT, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R.

13976) to amend an act approved February 27, 1919, entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Allegheny, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River at or near Sixteenth Street, in the city of Pittsburgh, county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1058), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. JONES of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13977) to amend an act approved February 27, 1919, entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Allegheny, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River at or near Millvale borough, in the county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1059), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. COOPER, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13978) to amend an act approved February 27, 1919, entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Allegheny, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Ohio River at or near McKees Rocks borough, in the county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1060), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SIMS, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 14159) granting the consent of Congress to the city of Columbus, in the State of Georgia, to construct a bridge across the Chattahoochee River, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1061), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MONTAGUE, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 14160) granting the consent of Congress to the county of Troup to construct a bridge across the Chattahoochee River at West Point, Ga., reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1062), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. PORTER, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 57) that Ireland have a government of its own choice, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1063), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. KINKAID, from the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2702) to provide for the application of the reclamation law to irrigation districts, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1065), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. WINSLOW, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 3329) to extend the time of the Hudson River Connecting Railroad Corporation for the completion of a bridge across the Hudson River, in the State of New York, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1066), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13162) for the relief of the Metropolitan Lumber Co., reported the same with an amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1057), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

#### PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 14309) granting medals of honor for meritorious war service with the American Expeditionary Forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 14310) to repeal the act entitled "The soldiers' and sailors' civil relief act"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEENERSON: A bill (H. R. 14311) to authorize the improvement of Red Lake and Red Lake River, in the State of Minnesota, for navigation, drainage, and flood-control purposes; to the Committee on Flood Control.



By Mr. KREIDER: A bill (H. R. 14312) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Millersburg Gun Club, Millersburg, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SIEGEL: A bill (H. R. 14313) to authorize the purchase of a site, preparation of plans and specifications, and the construction of a building for use as a foreign branch station for the post office at New York, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CARAWAY: A bill (H. R. 14314) to provide for the construction, improvement, and maintenance of public post roads; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 14315) to authorize an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to provide medical, surgical, and hospital services and supplies for patients of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, Division of Rehabilitation, suffering from neuro-psychiatric and tubercular ailments and diseases, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. RAKER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 368) to suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the year 1920; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. SIEGEL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 369) admitting Emil S. Fischer to the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MONDELL: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 60) providing for the adjournment of Congress on June 5, 1920, at 4 o'clock p. m.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DALLINGER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to the compensation of United States postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. TAGUE: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to the compensation of United States postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. ROGERS: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to the compensation of United States postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. LUFKIN: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to the compensation of United States postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. TREADWAY: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to compensation of Federal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BURROUGHS: A bill (H. R. 14316) granting an increase of pension to Albert Young; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CARSS: A bill (H. R. 14317) granting a pension to Lourinda McIntosh Ross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CRISP: A bill (H. R. 14318) granting a pension to Daisy M. Tibbott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HILL: A bill (H. R. 14319) granting a pension to Mary E. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KINKAID: A bill (H. R. 14320) granting a pension to Naoma Dobie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LUHRING: A bill (H. R. 14321) granting a pension to Levi C. Posey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14322) granting a pension to Louisa Lacer Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14323) granting an increase of pension to Addie Martha Blevans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14324) granting an increase of pension to Miranda Johnston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14325) granting an increase of pension to Elbert M. Deffendall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14326) granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Neville; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14327) granting an increase of pension to Catharine Conn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14328) granting an increase of pension to Phoebe E. Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAHER: A bill (H. R. 14329) for the relief of Tony Troncone; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MICHENER: A bill (H. R. 14330) granting a pension to Rebecca Welker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 14331) granting a pension to Orpha Conroy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SANDERS of New York: A bill (H. R. 14332) granting a pension to Clara E. Fritcher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 14333) granting a pension to Maryelen Gibson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14334) granting a pension to Mary B. Perkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

3995. By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition of the Business Men's Association of Syracuse, favoring higher pay for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

3996. By Mr. BABKA: Three petitions of organizations of Cleveland, Ohio, favoring amnesty for political prisoners; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3997. Also, petition of sundry citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, favoring increased postal salaries; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

3998. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of North America, favoring amnesty for political prisoners; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3999. Also, petition of Teachers' Union, of New York, favoring increased postal salaries; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4000. By Mr. DARROW: Petition of Typothetae of Philadelphia, Pa., urging legislation increasing salaries of postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4001. By Mr. EDMONDS: Petition of Philadelphia Board of Trade, favoring the passage of Senate bill 4204; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4002. By Mr. EMERSON: Petition of postal employees of Cleveland, Ohio, asking postal wage commission to report immediately to Congress; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4003. By Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts: Petition of H. L. Ogden, Boston, Mass., purchasing agent for 21 gas and electric lighting companies in Massachusetts, protesting against exportation of coal; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4004. By Mr. GALLIVAN: Petition of 62 residents of South Boston and Boston, Mass., favoring increases in salaries for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4005. By Mr. KAHN: Petition of sundry citizens of the fourth congressional district of California, urging favorable action on House bill 10925; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4006. By Mr. LONERGAN: Petition of Capital City Lodge of International Machinists, of Hartford, Conn., for the repeal of the war-time sedition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4007. By Mr. McDUFFIE: Petition of Grand Lodge, Knights of Pythias, Montgomery, Ala., opposing the passage of House bill 12790; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4008. By Mr. MCGLENNON: Petition of New Jersey State League of Municipalities, favoring daylight-saving legislation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4009. Also, petition of Board of Commissioners of Jersey City, and 16 school-teachers of Kearny, N. J., favoring increases in postal salaries; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4010. By Mr. MOONEY: Petition of National Council of Lighting Fixture Manufacturers, favoring removal of restrictions on immigration; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

4011. Also, petition of Association of Aviation Clubs of Ohio, favoring separate Air Service for Army and Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

4012. Also, petition of sundry citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, favoring increased postal salaries; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4013. Also, petition of Bakery and Confectionery Workers of Ohio, favoring amnesty for political prisoners; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4014. By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of Queens County Republican Committee and the Teachers' Union, both of New York,

favoring higher pay for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4015. Also, petition of Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of North America, favoring amnesty to political prisoners; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4016. Also, petition of G. E. Barton, of New York, against bonus to uninjured soldiers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4017. By Mr. RAKER: Petition of Waiters' Union, Local 30, favoring amnesty for political prisoners; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4018. Also, petition of J. T. Bradley, of Grass Valley, favoring increased postal salaries; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4019. Also, petition of Air Reduction Sales Co., of Emeryville, Calif., protesting against Senate bill 3223 and House bill 9932; to the Committee on Patents.

4020. By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Petition of Community Association of Charlotte, Mich., favoring increased rates on the railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4021. By Mr. STINESS: Petition of Hon. J. P. Mahoney, mayor of Newport; David C. Caesar, president Newport Chamber of Commerce; H. F. Busby, secretary local No. 268, I. B. E. W., Newport; John McGrane, molders' union, Newport; O. Shea, secretary laborers' local No. 407, Newport; Oliver W. Barker, secretary local No. 15553, Newport; William P. Noonan, Newport Boilermakers' Union; James Percy, National Association of Supervisors, Narragansett Bay district; Joseph Trigueiro, secretary Machinists' Lodge No. 119, Newport; James E. Devine, local No. 703, plumbers and steamfitters, Newport; C. A. McManus, recording secretary local No. 175, sheet-metal workers and coppersmiths union, Newport; Perry B. Dawley, secretary Carpenters' District Council, Newport, all in the State of Rhode Island, protesting against the proposed elimination or reduction of the item of \$200,000 for maintenance of the naval torpedo station at Newport, R. I., as contained in the naval appropriation bill; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

4022. By Mr. TAGUE: Petition of John N. Cole, of Boston, Mass., favoring additional Federal aid for good roads; to the Committee on Roads.

4023. Also, petition of sundry citizens of Boston, Mass., in regard to higher pay for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4024. By Mr. WOODYARD: Petition of Parkersburg Soldiers' Aid, of Parkersburg, W. Va., favoring enactment of law for observance, on May 30 of each year, of the services of the soldiers and sailors of the recent war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## SENATE.

Monday, May 31, 1920.

(Legislative day of Monday, May 24, 1920.)

The Senate reassembled at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Reading Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ball	Fernald	McCumber	Sheppard
Beckham	France	McKellar	Shields
Borah	Gay	McLean	Simmons
Brandegee	Gerry	McNary	Smith, Ariz.
Calder	Hale	Nelson	Smith, Md.
Capper	Harding	New	Smith, S. C.
Chamberlain	Harris	Norris	Smoot
Colt	Harrison	Nugent	Spencer
Comer	Henderson	Page	Sutherland
Culberson	Hitchcock	Phipps	Thomas
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Trammell
Dial	Kendrick	Poin Dexter	Underwood
Dillingham	Keyes	Pomerene	Wadsworth
Edge	King	Ransdell	Walsh, Mass.
Elkins	Lodge	Reed	Walsh, Mont.
Fall	McCormick	Robinson	Warren

Mr. GERRY. The Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST], the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN], the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN], and the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] are absent on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Sixty-four Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills:

S. 4411. An act granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Pembina, N. Dak., and Kittson, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North at or near the city of Pembina, N. Dak.; and

S. 4431. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Rock River, in Lee County, State of Illinois, at or near the city of Dixon, in said county.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 336) authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to the Albert Sidney Johnston Camp, United Confederate Veterans, No. 1820, Fort Worth, Tex., 100 cots and blankets for the use of Confederate veterans at the reunion of said camp June 24 to 27, inclusive, 1920.

The message further announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9783) to provide a national budget system and an independent audit of Government accounts, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 14157) to provide adjusted compensation for veterans of the World War; to provide revenue therefor; and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House agrees to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 1309) for the relief of Perry L. Haynes.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate No. 1 to the bill (H. R. 11892) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes, insists upon its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 1 to the bill, agrees to the further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa, Mr. DEMPSEY, and Mr. GALLAGHER managers at the further conference on the part of the House.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 12272. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921; and

H. R. 12775. An act to amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and to establish military justice.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HENDERSON. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a certified copy of a joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Nevada, which relates to the establishment of the Tahoe National Park, and I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate joint resolution relative to the establishment of the Tahoe National Park.

Whereas Lake Tahoe and the basin surrounding it constitute one of the scenic wonders of the world, and should be preserved for all time for the people; and

Whereas private ownership of said section has despoiled a large part of the surrounding basin and is a bar to development of the natural beauty and resources of that section; and

Whereas similar natural wonders in other sections of the country are under the control of the Federal Government, and receive better care and attention than is possible under private ownership: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Nevada (the Assembly concurring), That the Congress of the United States is hereby petitioned to include Lake Tahoe and the Tahoe Basin in a national park under the control of the United States, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of the Interior and to our Senators and Representative in Congress; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the president of the senate and speaker of the assembly of the State of California, and that the Legislature of the State of